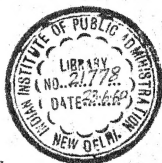


The Social Institutions IN Ancient India

BEING THE MAHADEO HARI WATHODKAR
MEMORIAL LECTURES DELIVERED
IN THE YEAR 1944



BY

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1947

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ALPHABET USED FOR TRANSLITERATION

अ	a	द्	dh
आ	ā	ण्	ṇ
इ	i	त्	t
ई	ī or ee	थ्	th
उ	u	द्ध	d
ऊ	ū	ध्	dh
ऋ	ṛi	न्	n
ॠ	ṛī	प्	p
ऌ	ḷi	फ्	ph
ए	e	ब्	b
ऐ	ai	भ्	bh
ओ	o	म्	m
औ	au or ou	य्	y
क्	k or c	र	r
ख्	kh	ल्	l
ग	g	व्	v or w
घ	gh	श्	ś
ङ	ṅ	ष	sh
च	ch	स्	s
छ	chh	ह	h
ज	j	ळ	ḷ
झ	jh	द्ध	ddha
ञ	ñ	:	ḥ
ट	ṭ	ि	ṁ
ठ	ṭh	क्ष	ksh or csh
ड	ḍ	ज्ञ	jñ

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SYNOPSIS

(The numerical figures indicate paragraphs)

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3. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. Published by Gopala Narayan & Co., Bombay, 1894 A.D.
4. *Bhagavadgeeta*.
5. *Boudhāyana Dharma Sūtras*, 48th Volume, Ānandāśrama Series, 1929 A.D.
6. *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*. Published by Sree Venkateswara, Bombay.
7. *Bṛihadāraṇyakopanishad*.
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9. *Gautama Dharma Sūtra or Gautāma Smṛiti*. Printed at the Government Branch Press, Mysore, 1917 A.D.
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11. *Jaimini Sūtras*.
12. *Kausheetaki Upanishad*.
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 - (1) Edited by P. P. S. Śastri, B.A., (Oxon.), M.A., 1935–1936 A.D., called the Madras edition.
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14. *Manusmṛiti*.
15. *Matsya Purāṇa*. Published by the Ānandāśrama Press, Poona, 1909 A.D.
16. *Muṇḍakopanishad*.
17. *Nārāyaṇopanishad*.
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19. *Nirukta*. By Yāska.
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22. *Rigveda*. Edited by Max Muller, 2nd edition.
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25. *Sukla Yajurveda*, Mādhyandina Śakha. Published by Nirṇaya-sāgara Press, Bombay, 1929 A.D.
26. *Taittireeya Brāhmaṇa*. Published by Ānandāśrama Press, Poona, 1898 A.D.
27. *Taittireeya Samhita*. Published by Ānandāśrama Press, Poona, 1900-1905 A.D.
28. *Taittireeya Upanishad*.
29. *Taṇḍya Brāhmaṇa*.
30. *Vasishṭha Smṛiti*.
31. *Vāyupurāṇa*. Published by Anandāśrama Press, Poona, 1905 A.D.
32. *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti*.

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3. *The Evolution of Castes*. By R. Syāmāśāstree, B.A., M.R.A.S. Published in a Magazine.
4. *Hindu Exogamy*. By Karandikar. Published by the Bombay University, 1929 A.D.
5. *Hindu Social Institutions*. By P. H. Valavalkar, Ph.D., LL.B., 1939 A.D.
6. *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization*. By Dr. A. S. Altekar, 1938 A.D.
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ERRATA ET CORRIGENDA

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>Incorrect</i>	<i>Correct</i>
10	16	between	from
18	22	Antarikha	Antariksha
21	22	Pitaras	Pitṛis
22	37	Pitaras	Pitṛis
24	19	same	the same
25	16	महदृष्ट्या	महदृष्ट्या
26	2	महदृष्ट्या	महदृष्ट्या
30	15	District for	District; for,
32	4	Sweta	Śweta
32	6	Suddha	Śuddha
34	16	n readings	in readings
34	21	thosewho	those who
41	21	दाने	दानम्
47	25	नैतद् ब्राह्मणो	नैतद्ब्राह्मणो
48	15	Salyaparva	Śalyaparva
51	14	moon	moon,
55	6	द्वयोहीनौ	द्वयोर्हीनौ
56	4	Kshatriya	Kshatriyā
92	7	seven	seventh
103	5	injunction	injunctions
109	36	praiseworthy of	praiseworthy. Of
115	22	period the	period of the
120	8	किंचेभ्यः	किंचेमाः
120	12	this	his
127	16	mony	money
144	6	purukutsa	Purukutsa
146	15	honoured	(honoured)
152	8	साधवः	साधवः
172	25	cvildren	children
172	36	प्रतिपत्ति	संप्रति
175	13	suzeraignty	suzerainty
176	12	Kshatriya	Kshatriya
177	13	अन्यच्छृणोति	नान्यच्छृणोति



PRESIDENT, LADIES, GENTLEMEN AND STUDENTS,

In the very beginning of my lectures, I think it my duty to thank sincerely the "Mahadeo Hari Wathodkar Memorial Lectureship Committee" and Mr. R. M. Wathodkar also. The latter donated a large fund of Rs. 25,000 to the Nagpur University for establishing the 'Mahadeo Hari Wathodkar Memorial Lectureship' in memory of his father and then wrote a special letter to the University suggesting and recommending me as the first lecturer. The Committee accepting his suggestion has appointed me as the first lecturer. I must therefore thank both the Committee and Mr. R. M. Wathodkar very sincerely. I must also congratulate the Committee upon its approval of the subject proposed by me. This subject proposed by me namely "The Social Institutions of the Ancient Indians" deserves to be studied more deeply and thoroughly than has been done hitherto, especially if we have to take from the study of the past any lesson for our future progress. The Committee presumably saw this. I also congratulate you, ladies, gentlemen and students that have come here to hear these lectures upon the interest you are taking in the subject and to you I have to make some very important suggestions.

The first suggestion is that you should clear your mind of all preconceptions and try to take an unbiased and realistic view of things. This is important because I have to give you an entirely new point of view from which to look at the ancient works and to open up before your minds' eye new vista with regard to the social structure of ancient Indians. I do not mean that you should accept anything and everything that I say without convincing evidence, but I do mean that if convincing evidence is forthcoming, nothing else should come in the way of your conviction. While speaking of preconceptions, I must mention one that is very fatal to correct knowledge of ancient civilizations, especially the Indian Aryan Civilization. Even eminent Scholars presume that the ancient Indians were incapable of thoughts or acts that the plain language of the books shows they had or did, and then search out some device to escape the inevitable conclusion of that language. I cannot

condemn such preconceptions too strongly. We must understand that human civilization is in truth very old, since according to the estimate of some, man has existed on this Planet for the last about a million years.

My second suggestion is that you should give your closest and most sympathetic attention to the subject. My treatment of the subject being new and such as you are not accustomed to, a good deal of attention and sympathetic understanding will be required for grasping what I say, though, of course, I shall try my best to express my arguments and propositions as clearly as possible.

My third suggestion is that you should prepare yourself for hearing these lectures, by reading my previous lectures in this University namely my lectures in the Kinkhede Lecture Series on "The Astronomical Method and its application to the Chronology of Ancient India". The subject before us cannot be seen in its true perspective and free from distortion without correct chronology. I will therefore have to refer to those lectures very frequently. I therefore wish you to prepare yourself by reading those lectures, though as occasion arises I will reproduce here the most necessary parts of those lectures.

My fourth suggestion is that at the end of every lecture you should ask me questions, to get your doubts removed. This will also give me an opportunity to make myself clear and to fill up any deficiencies that may have been left.

I propose to deliver in all ten lectures. The first will treat of "Our subject, sources of information and principles of interpreting them". The second lecture will give preliminary information and treat of public assemblies, public functionaries, their mode of appointment and the terms of their office, the time and place at which they were designed and the persons who designed them. It will also give information about the chronology of Ancient India. The third and the fourth lecture will treat of the system of Varnas. The fifth lecture will give the history of Manu and Saptarshis and the sixth lecture will describe their functions. The seventh will treat of the Āśramas, the eighth of Marriage, and the ninth of the Yajña and the Aśwamedha. The tenth lecture will try to draw a picture of the ancient society and thus complete the series.

AUTHOR

THE SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS OF ANCIENT INDIANS

LECTURE I

THE SUBJECT, SOURCES OF INFORMATION AND PRINCIPLES OF INTERPRETING THEM

1. The subject of our lectures is "The Social Institutions of Ancient Indians". That means, the social institutions peculiar to Ancient Indians, excluding of course those institutions that are common to them and other Societies. By Ancient Indians, we mean, the Aryan Society in India from the earliest known times to the days of Alexander's Invasion or the accession of the King Chandragupta Mourya ; that period has got a special claim to be called Ancient, as virtually no coins, engravings, inscriptions or plates of that period are available and the books giving information of that period are also very much misunderstood and have not yet been thoroughly and properly studied.

2. The chief social institutions peculiar to this Society are the Āśramas, the Varnas, that have now degenerated into castes and the institution of Manu and Saptarshis that has now become extinct. The objective of the Yajña which is also peculiar to this Society is probably primarily individualistic ; but it has far-reaching effects in social matters also. I shall therefore deal only with those parts of the Yajña that have such effects. The Aśwamedha Yajña as described in the extant Brāhmaṇas and the Yajurveda is mainly an inter-monarchical function or affair between monarchs of several states. Formerly it appears to be different. It was then rather a public and social function in one state. I therefore propose to trace the development of the Aśwamedha from the earliest known times and to show its effects in the Indian Aryan Society in the earliest and the later ages. Of course, I shall describe only those parts of the Aśwamedha that have such effects in Social and Political matters. Marriage is an institution common to almost all societies in the world. But it has several peculiarities in the Society that is the subject of

our study, and therefore we shall study the Marriage System of this Society not for its own sake but for the sake of its peculiarities.

3. Having thus defined our subject, we shall now speak about our sources of information. The Vedas including the Brāhmaṇas and the Upanishads, the six Aṅgas of the Vedas, especially the Nighaṇṭu, the Purāṇas, the two great Epics and the ancient Smṛities including Sūtras, these are our sources of information.

4. These can however be divided into two groups. First we have those dealing with other subjects but making occasional references to the subject of our investigation, for instance the R̥gveda, the Yajurveda and the Atharvaveda. The former two only give prayers to be used in the Yajñas and the last those to be used for mundane purposes. Such prayers give us only very scanty information that is not sufficient to give us any idea of the subject under investigation. In a R̥g in 8/30, the poet describes Manu as father and prays that he may not depart from the path of Manu. This does not give us much information about Manus and we are left to much conjecture and imagination, like the seven blind persons touching the elephant at different parts of its body. We shall not make use of such sources of information in these lectures.

5. Secondly, we have those whose subject is the same as the subject of our investigation; such are the Purāṇas, the Smṛitis, the Sūtras and some portions of the Brāhmaṇas and the Upanishads. Nobody will doubt that social institutions are the subject of the Smṛitis and Smārta Sūtras and that Yajña is the subject of the Brāhmaṇas and the Śrouta Sūtras. But almost all will dispute my statement that the 'Social Institutions' is the subject of the Purāṇas. I however rely upon the Purāṇas themselves to prove my statement.

6. The "Vāyupurāṇa" says:

सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशोमन्वंतराणि च ।

वंश्यानुचरितं चेति पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणं ॥ १०-११ ॥ (अ. ४)

The "Brahmaṇḍapurāṇa" has the same verse (verses 3-38 in Pāda 1, Adhyāya 1) with only slight change, 'चैव' for 'चेति'. The meaning of this verse is "Creation, sub-creation or counter-creation, line of descendants, intervals or periods of Manus (मन्वंतर) and lives of persons in lines of descendants: these are

the five characteristics, i.e., subjects of a Purāṇa". The "Vāyupurāṇa" also says:

अत्र वो वर्तयिष्यामि विधिर्मन्वंतरस्य यः ।

इतरेतरवर्णस्य चातुर्वर्णस्य चैव हि ॥ ५६ ॥ (अ. ५९)

Translation :—"I shall describe to you the ceremonies of a Manvantara, of going from one Varṇa into another and of entering into the Society consisting of the four Varṇas."

These two verses show without doubt that the मन्वंतर is the subject of the Purāṇas and also that the ceremonies of going from one Varṇa into another and of entering into the Society consisting of four Varṇas were the subjects of the Purāṇas. And what is मन्वंतर ? The following verse shows it:

मनोः क्षत्रं विश्वैव सप्तर्षिभ्यो द्विजातयः ।

एतन्मन्वंतरं प्रोक्तं सभासाक्षतु विस्तरात् ॥ २२ ॥—वायुपुराणे, अ. ६२.

Translation :—"The Kshatriyas and the Vaiśyas arise from Manu and the Brāhmaṇas from Saptarshis. This is मन्वंतर if we are to speak briefly and not in details." This shows that the Varṇas, Manus and Saptarshis are the subjects of the Purāṇas.

7. Now we shall consider the meaning of सर्ग i.e., creation. This word deserves deep and thorough consideration. The word सर्ग means creation by anybody and that may mean creation of the world by the primeval cause (named ब्रह्मा in the Purāṇas) or the creation of human societies or social institutions or constitution by some influential and authoritative human agency (named ब्रह्मा in the Purāṇas) or by any one of the two. That the word सर्ग has got the third meaning is proved by the following passage where सर्ग has been divided into nine successive stages the last two of which correspond to human creation. The passage is this:

प्रथमो महतः सर्गो विज्ञेयो महतस्तु सः ॥ ६० ॥

(ब्रह्माणस्तु)

तन्मात्राणां द्वितीयस्तु भूतसर्गः स उच्यते ।

वैकारिकस्तृतीयस्तु सवै ऐन्द्रियकः स्मृतः ॥ ६१ ॥

(चैन्द्रियः सर्ग उच्यते)

इत्येष प्राकृतः सर्गः संभूतो बुद्धिपूर्वकः ।

(इत्येते प्राकृताः सर्गाः उत्पन्ना बुद्धिपूर्वकाः)

मुख्यसर्गश्चतुर्थस्तु मुख्या वै स्थावराः स्मृताः ॥ ६२ ॥

तिर्यक्स्रोताश्च यः सर्गस्तिर्यग्योनिः स पंचमः ।

(तिर्यक्स्रोतः स सर्गस्तु तैर्यग्योन्यस्तु पंचमः)

तथोर्ध्वस्रोतसां षष्ठो देवसर्गस्तु स स्मृतः ॥ ६३ ॥

(सर्गः षष्ठो दैवत उच्यते)

तथार्वाक्स्रोतसां सर्गः सप्तमः स तु मानुषः ॥

(तथोर्ध्वस्रोतसां)

अष्टमोऽनुग्रहः सर्गः सात्विकस्तामसस्तु यः ॥ ६४ ॥

(श्च)

पंचैते वैकृताः सर्गाः प्राकृतास्तु त्रयः स्मृताः ।

(प्राकृताद्यास्यः)

प्राकृतो वैकृतश्चैव कौमारो नवमः स्मृतः ॥ ६५ ॥

प्राकृतास्तु त्रयः सर्गाः कृतास्ते बुद्धिपूर्वकाः ।

(प्राकृता बुद्धिपूर्वास्तु त्रयः सर्गास्तु वैकृताः ।)

बुद्धिपूर्वं प्रवर्तते षट्सर्गा ब्रह्मणस्तु ते ॥ ६६ ॥

(बुद्धिपूर्वाः प्रवर्तयुस्तद्वर्गा ब्राह्मणास्तु वै)

विस्तरानुग्रहं सर्गं कीर्त्यमानं निबोधत ।

(विस्तराच्च यथा सर्वे)

चतुर्धावस्थितः सोऽथ सर्वं भूतेषु कृत्स्नशः ॥ ६७ ॥

(चतुर्धा च स्थितः सोऽपि)

विपर्ययेण शक्याच्च तुष्ट्या सिद्धया तथैव च ।

(बुद्ध्या)

स्थावरेषु विपर्यासः तिर्यग्योनिषु शक्तिता ॥ ६८ ॥

(शक्तिः)

सिद्धयात्मानो मनुष्यास्तु तुष्टिर्देवेषु कृत्स्नशः ॥ ६९ ॥

(सिद्धात्मानो)

(तुष्टिः)

One verse after this is not found in the "Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa" at this place and therefore is omitted here.

अग्रे ससर्ज वै ब्रह्मा मानसानात्मनः समान् ॥ ७० ॥

(अथो)

सनंदनं च सनकं विद्वांसं च सनातनम् ।

This line is not found in "Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa".

विज्ञानेन निवृत्तास्ते वैवर्तेन महोजसः ॥ ७१ ॥

(वैवर्त्येन तु ज्ञानेन निवृत्तास्ते)

संबुद्धाश्चैव नानात्वादपविद्धास्त्रयोऽपि ते ।
 (सुबुद्धयं चैव नामाथो अपवृत्तास्त्रयस्तु ते)
 असृष्टैव प्रजासर्गम् प्रतिसर्गं गताः पुनः ॥ ७२ ॥

(ततस्ततः)

तदा तेषु व्यतीतेषु तदान्यान्साधकांश्च तान् ।
 (ब्रह्मा तेषु व्यरक्तेषु ततोऽन्यान् साधकान् सृजन्)
 मानसान्सृजत् ब्रह्मा पुनः स्थानाभिमानिनः ॥ ७३ ॥
 (स्थानाभिमानिनो देवाः पुनर्ब्रह्मानुशासनम्)
 आभूतसंलवावस्थाक्षामतस्तान्निबोधत ।
 (अभूत सृष्टयवस्था ये स्थानिनस्तान्निबोध मे)
 आपोऽग्निः पृथिवी वायुरंतरिक्षं दिशस्तथा ॥ ७४ ॥

(रंतरिक्षो दिवं तथा)

स्वर्गं दिवः समुद्रांश्च नदान् शैलान् वनस्पतीन् ।
 (स्वर्गो दिशः समुद्राश्च नद्यश्चैव वनस्पतीन्)
 ओषधीनां तथात्मानो ह्यात्मानो वृक्षवीरुधाम् ॥ ७५ ॥
 लवाः काष्ठाः कलाश्चैव मुहूर्ताः संधिरात्र्यहाः ।
 (लताः)
 अर्धमासाश्च मासाश्च अयनाद्वयुगानि च ।
 स्थानाभिमानिनः सर्वे स्थानाख्याश्चैव ते स्मृताः ॥ ७६ ॥
 (स्थाने स्रोतः स्वाभिमानाः)

—वायुपुराणे, अ. ६.

I have given above the text of the passage as found in वायुपुराण. Below it I have given in brackets from 5th अध्याय of the first Pāda the text of the ब्रह्मांडपुराण where it differs from that of the वायुपुराण. The comparison of the two differing texts shows what the real text and sense is. I give this sense below:

“The first was the creation of Mahat named Mahat-sarga ॥ 60 ॥ The second was the creation of Tanmātras (i.e., the objects of senses namely light, sound, smell, taste and touch) named Bhootasarga. The third named Vaikārika, was the creation of the Organs (i.e., eye, ear, nose, tongue and skin) ॥ 61 ॥ These are the creations called Prākṛita that arose before the rise of intelligence. The fourth is the creation of Mukhyas. The Mukhyas are immobile living beings (स्यावर), i.e., the trees, creepers, etc. (It should be noted that here the immobile beings are also supposed to have got intelligence) ॥ 62 ॥ The fifth is

the creation of those whose intelligence flows obliquely (तिर्यक्सो-
त्तस्). It is named Tiryagyonya Sarga, *i.e.*, the creation of beasts.
The sixth is the creation of those whose intelligence flows up-
wards (ऊर्ध्वस्रोतः) named Deva-sarga, *i.e.*, the creation of
Super-man or superior men || 63 || The seventh is the creation
of those whose intelligence flows downwards named Mānusha-
Sarga, *i.e.*, the creation of Ordinary men. The eighth is the
creation named Anugraha, *i.e.*, control (अनुग्रहं must be taken to
mean "control" as the 68th and 69th verses show or the correct
reading should be taken to be निग्रह. It should be noted that
in verse 67 we have to take विस्तरान्निग्रहं as the correct reading
for विस्तरानुग्रहं). It is सत्त्विक as well as तामस (*i.e.*, *kind as well as
cruel*) || 64 || These five are Vaikṛita Sargas. The previous three
are Prākṛita. The ninth creation named Kaumāra is both
प्राकृत and वैकृत || 65 || The three Prākṛita Sargas were made be-
fore the rise of intelligence and the six Sargas of Brahman
come into existence after the rise of intelligence || 66 || Now,
hear the creation named control, being described in details.
It, *i.e.*, the control, exists in all living beings in four ways (चतुर्धा),
i.e., (1) by change of place, (2) by strength, (3) by intelligence,
and (4) by feeding (पुष्टि) or gratifying (तुष्टि). (The reading
बुद्ध्या must be accepted as correct and the reading सिद्ध्या in verse
68 must be substituted by पुष्ट्या or तुष्ट्या if we have to get any
sense from this passage). The control over immobile living
beings is effected by changing their place (विपर्यास=विपर्यय. The
correct reading must be विपर्यासात्). The control over beasts
is effected by means of force (शक्तिः). The control over men is
effected by intelligence (the correct reading must be बुद्ध्यात्मना
मनुष्येषु), which is their real self (आत्मा) and the complete control
over Super-men is effected by feeding them (पुष्ट्या) or by gratify-
ing them (तुष्ट्या) (the correct reading must be पुष्ट्या देवेषु कृत्स्नशः or
तुष्ट्या देवेषु कृत्स्नशः). (It should be noted that all these statements
are perfectly true) || 67-69 || (Having given the details of the
eighth Sarga, the Purāṇa now gives the details of the ninth
Sarga.) In the beginning the Brahmā created by adoption
(मानसान्) sons named Sanandana, Sanaka and the learned
Sanātana equal to himself. (The word कुमारान् must be taken as
understood after मानसान् for this is the description of the कौमार
सर्ग.) But all these three great men (महौजसः) being abstainers
from the world (निश्चिन्ता) on account of the knowledge that the

world is a delusion (वैवल्येन ज्ञानेन) and being full of knowledge (सुबुद्धाः) and being retired from the diversity of this world (नाना-त्वादपवृत्ताः) went away towards death, i.e., to die (प्रतिसर्गं गताः) without procreating any children || 70-72 || After they went away, Brahmā again created by adoption other sons who were efficiently active (साधक) and who were conscious of the duties of the office conferred upon them (स्थानाभिमानिनः) || 73 || Hear the names of these officers whose term of office continues till the creation of (new) Creatures (भूत) of course of this ninth Creation, i.e., of new office-holders (आभूतसृष्टयवस्था). They are Āpaḥ (waters), Agni (Fire), Prithivee (Earth), Vāyu (Wind), the assembly named Sky (अंतरिक्ष), directions (दिशः), the Sun (सूर्यो), the assembly named Heavens (स्वर्ग). (There is a likelihood that there is a mistake in reading ; the correct reading appears to be सूर्यो दिवं because स्वर्ग and दिव is the same.) The Seas (समुद्र), the rivers (नद्यः), large trees (वनस्पतीन्), the souls of plants (ओषधि), the souls of small trees and creepers (वृक्षवीरुधाम्), Lavas (लवाः), Kāshthās (काष्ठाः), Kalās (कला), Muhūrtas (मुहूर्ताः), twilight (संधि), night (रात्रि), day (अहः), half months (अर्धमासाः), months (मासाः), half-year (अयन), the year (अह) and the cycle (Yuga). They are all conscious of the duties of the office they hold. They are known (तेस्मृताः) to be the names of officers."

This passage is, as it were, the key to the proper understanding of the Purāṇas and must, therefore, be rightly understood. It is clear that the first seven Sargas exhaust all the creations of ब्रह्म, the primeval cause of the world. The last two sargas must, therefore, be creations by man. The eighth is undoubtedly the creation by man wherein man controls the vegetable world by changing their place of germination, i.e., by cultivation, beasts by captivating them by force, and man controls man by appealing to his intelligence and by gratification. Therefore the ninth creation must also be creation by man. The name of this creation (i.e., कौमार) suggests what it is. It is the creation of Kumāras or Sons. But what kind of sons ? They are not sons by procreation by body or औरस Sons. They are मानस Sons or Sons created by mind, i.e., adopted Sons and they are also said to be स्थानाभिमानिनः, i.e., conscious of the duties of their office. All this shows that this adoption is only appointment to an office.

We should not be misled by the strangeness of the names. The Purāṇa itself qualifies them by the word स्थानाभिमानिनः

which word can be applied only to sentient human beings. The Purāṇa further says that they are the names of offices (स्थानाख्याः). The word स्थान cannot here be interpreted to mean a locality or a place for residence ; for all of them are not localities or places of residences, but they can all be offices. Moreover they are said to have been created after the three learned men सनंदन, सनक and सनातन refused to do the duties assigned to them. Therefore they must be men capable of doing those duties. The देवताकांड of निघंटु (the fifth अध्याय) also contains many of the names given here along with Manu, and Saptarshis who are undoubtedly men and they are there described as पद's. The word पद there undoubtedly means an office and not a locality or place for residence, for, मनु and सप्तर्षि are not localities or places for residence. Therefore all the names given here are names of offices. The Brahmā (ब्रह्मा) the creator of those offices must also be the Supreme head of the State and not the primeval cause of the Universe. The ninth Sarga is thus proved to be a human creation,—the creation or appointment of office-holders. Such a creation includes the creation of social institutions or constitutions : for creation of social institutions or constitutions must necessarily precede the appointments of office-holders that are always made in conformity with the institutions or constitution. The word सर्ग, therefore, includes the creation of social institutions or constitutions and the appointments to offices in accordance with them.

8. We also find the root सृज् and its derivatives used in the sense of creation of social institutions, constitutions and office holders in several passages in the Purāṇas and elsewhere also. The word Sarga is used in this sense in “पूर्वं स्वायम्भुवसर्गे” (वायुपुराण, Chapter 57, verse 86; ब्रह्मांड, पाद २, अ. ३, श्लोक ६ : मत्स्य, अ. १४३, श्लोक १) which means “formerly in the creation of Swāyambhuva Manu, the first Manu” and where as the context shows, the “creation” means the re-establishment of Varnas and of regulations and laws to be observed by them and regulations for the continuance of the Varnas. In “Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa”, we have descriptions of a sacrifice of twelve years and of a sacrifice of one thousand years (“Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa”, Chapter 25, Khaṇḍas 6th and 18). There the sacrificers for one thousand years are called विश्वसृजः and it is also stated that the विश्व, i.e., the world comes into existence when they finish the sacrifice (विश्वमेनाननुप्रजायते य

एनदुपयंति). It is also stated that by the sacrifice of twelve years, the Prajāpati, *i.e.*, the year (see संवत्सरो वै प्रजापतिरग्निः in शतपथ ब्राह्मण, १०-४-२) produces all things. Now the year produces nothing peculiar after twelve years but in one thousand years, the equinox goes back about one constellation and we have to abandon the old system of constellations and adopt a new one. This, therefore, proves that the twelve-year sacrifice and the thousand year sacrifice ended simultaneously and that the "creation of the World" means nothing but the adoption of a new system of Constellations. The word सृज् in the passage in "Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa" is thus proved to mean creation of new regulations and laws regarding Constellations. A passage in "Vāyupurāṇa", *i.e.*, verses 5 to 14 in Chapter 2 also supports this meaning of सृज्, for, it describes the performance of the sacrifice of the thousand years and the sacrifice of twelve years by learned men in the Naimisha forest, the latter having been performed during the reign of Purūravas (see paragraphs 297-299 and 339 to 341 of my book "The Astronomical Methods, etc.") and calls the sacrificers विश्वसृजः. For all these reasons we can take it that सर्ग includes the creation of new regulations and institutions or constitution.

9. Now let us consider the meaning of प्रतिसर्ग. That must mean the opposite of Sarga, *i.e.*, the reabsorption of the world into its primeval cause, the abrogation of social institutions, regulations and constitutions and withdrawing the powers of the public functionaries. It may be suggested that प्रतिसर्ग means sub-creation, like the election of a new president in a republic in accordance with the constitution of the state already previously designed, the designing of the constitution being the सर्ग and the election of the officers in accordance with the constitution being the प्रतिसर्ग. It may be urged in support of this, that the उपसर्ग प्रति does not always mean 'the opposite of' but it at times means, minor, secondary or subordinate as in the words प्रत्यंग and प्रतिभूमि (see Apte's Dictionary). But this suggestion is not acceptable; for this meaning is equivalent to the Kaumāra Sarga already explained above in paragraph 8 and is therefore included in the meaning of the word Sarga and therefore the word प्रतिसर्ग cannot have been intended to convey that meaning in the verse सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वंतराणि च, etc. However, it must be

admitted that the word *प्रतिसर्ग* has got the said suggested meaning of sub-creation in the *Purāṇas* at some places as in

स्वायम्भुवस्यास्य मनोः दशैते वंशवर्धनाः ।

प्रतिसर्गमिमे कृत्वा जग्मुस्ते परमं पदं ॥ ६-६ ॥

—“*Matsyapurana*,” Chapter 9.

11. It is clear from this discussion of the verse *सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च*, etc., that the creation of Social Institutions and Constitutions and *Manvantaras* are the subjects of the *Purāṇas*. *Purāṇas* are thus the most important source of our information. I don't mean that all the *Purāṇas* are the sources of our knowledge. Recent *Purāṇas* have not stuck to the definition of a *Purāṇa* given above and have taken for their subject things other than those mentioned in that definition, namely धर्म, भक्ति, i.e., devotion and worship of personified gods and deities and of deified personages, व्रत, तीर्थयात्रा, श्राद्ध, पूत दान, etc. We have therefore to make a selection between the *Purāṇas*. “*Vāyupurāṇa*”, of which the “*Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*” is only another edition, appears to me to be the earliest, most reliable and most authoritative *Purāṇa*. It was first composed as early as 1064 Kalpa Era, i.e., 2038 B.C. (see paragraphs 385, 267, 10 and 11 of my book “*The Astro-nomical Method*, etc.”). It must, therefore have been the source of information of the other *Purāṇas*. It is therefore the primary source of information, all other *Purāṇas* being secondary sources of information.

12. We shall next consider the principles to be followed in interpreting these sources of our information. This is a very important thing. Our interpretation of the *Purāṇas* and other sources of our knowledge ought to be realistic and historical. I shall explain myself.

13. The old *Purāṇas* have been subjected to fantastic (as opposed to realistic) interpretations by the authors of recent *Purāṇas*, and by scholars both Eastern and Western. This course may be open to those who wish to condemn the *Purāṇas* as an account of purely imaginary events. But if we regard the *Purāṇas* as the work of sensible people who intended to write history, as we have shown already, then we are bound to put such an interpretation on those passages as will accord with facts as they are likely to occur in the actual world. What is the realistic (यथार्थ) and what is the fantastic (अद्भुत) manner of interpretation? An illustration will best explain this. The “*Vāyu-*

purāṇa" speaks of Mānasa (मानस) creation of Saptarshis (भूयः सप्तर्षयस्ते च उत्पन्नाः सप्त मानसाः ॥ १० ॥ Chapter 65). We fancy they are produced merely by mental action, *i.e.*, desire. This is an impossibility. The realistic interpretation is to regard this creation, as nomination, election, adoption or appointment to an office. If we thus interpret the Purāṇas in a realistic manner, they will be found to convey to us abundant information about the Social and Political Institutions of Ancient Indians. The proposition that the construction must be realistic and not fantastic, requires no argument to support it. However this proposition would be more readily acceded to if the cause of the resort of the learned men to such fantastic construction is pointed out. There are several words in the Purāṇas that have got more than one meaning. Some of these meanings that would give the realistic construction, have been lost, through operation of time and the meaning that is known to these learned men, can give only a fantastic construction. For instance the word कल्प had got several meanings. One of them was 4 years, another one thousand years (see paragraphs 282-299 of my book "The Astronomical Method, etc.") and the third is the period between the beginning and the end of the manifested world. The former two meanings have been lost and the third can give only a fantastic meaning to several passages in the Purāṇas. Therefore when we get fantastic constructions, we must investigate and find out other meanings of such words that were known in ancient times and for this same reason make a proper separation of passages relating to each meaning of the word ; for instance we must separate passages relating to कल्प, अंतरिक्ष, स्वर्ग, महर्लोक, ब्रह्मलोक, ब्रह्मा, etc., in the sense of human institutions from passages relating to कल्प, अंतरिक्ष, स्वर्ग, महर्लोक, ब्रह्मलोक, ब्रह्मा, etc., in the sense of the creations of the primeval cause out of the great jumble which has been now brought about by the misunderstanding of the subsequent editors of the primary Purāṇas.

14. Another principle that must be followed in interpreting Purāṇas, Śrutis and Sūtras is what may be called the historical interpretation. When two statements differ, the old commentators force them to give one and the same meaning by adding a word or words here or there. This is the समन्वयपद्धति which takes it for granted that these books can never differ from each other in their meaning. On the contrary the historical school of

interpretation holds that the social and political institutions change as time advances and that difference between such statements in books is the result of this change. This school therefore interprets ancient works without adding any word to any statement and if it thus comes across any difference in the statements in the books, it sees in the difference either evolution or degeneration of the institution concerned.

15. The Purāṇas, Brāhmaṇas and Upanishads at times use poetical language, the Parokshavāda or veiled statements and Praśaṁsā or excessive praise being the two Alankāras often made use of. Parokshavāda states something by some device of concealing that something, for instance “प्रजापतेः प्राणेषूक्तांतु शरीरं श्रयितुमघ्नियत्”, etc., in “Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa”, 13.4.4 states by concealment that the ordinary year of 360 days was continued even after it was finished, i.e., that some more days were added to the year of course to make it agree with the tropical year. Such veiled statements must be unravelled.

एतेन वै प्रजापतिः सर्वस्य प्रसवमगच्छत् ।

सर्वस्य प्रसवं गच्छन्ति य एतदुपयन्ति ॥

“Tāndya Brāhmaṇa”, Chap. 25, Khaṇḍa 6 is an instance of प्रशंसा and it is the praise of the fact that a new system of constellations is to be adopted after 1000 years on account of the recession of the equinox (see paragraphs 296-299 of my book “The Astronomical Method, etc.”). That these works are full of परोक्षवाद and प्रशंसा is proved by the statements तमिदं संतं इंद्र इत्याचक्षते परोक्षेण परोक्षप्रिया इव हि देवाः ॥ एतरेयोपनिषद्, ४-२ and तं वा एतमिधं संतं इंद्र इत्याचक्षते परोक्षेणैव परोक्षप्रिया इव हि देवा प्रत्यक्षद्विषः ॥ बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्, ४-२-२ and by स देवानपि गच्छति स ऊर्जभुपजीवति इति प्रशंसा ॥ बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्, १-६-२ and by Jaimini Sūtras, 1.2.1-30 and 1.4.23-24.

16. With regard to the Purāṇas the questions of interpolation or deletion are very important. Many additions have been made to the Purāṇas to bring them upto date, as all chronicles must be brought upto date. We cannot take objection to such additions. But many additions are made and many deletions effected and many changes made in the text to make the Purāṇas conform to the more recent views on any subject or to more recent theories. For instance the passages giving dimensions of the Yugas have been changed so as to make them agree with the astronomical system of Yugas that is quite different from the

Human and the Divine systems of Yugas (see my book "The Astronomical Method, etc.", paragraphs 245-248 and 346-348). We ought to neglect the interpolated or mutilated passages if we desire to get correct information about ancient institutions. The evidence of interpolation or deletion or mutation would be that which has been suggested in paragraph 22 of my book "The Astronomical Method and its application to Ancient Indian Chronology".

17. The correction of the text is another very important point. Comparison of the corresponding portions of the "Vāyupurāṇa" and the "Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa" would prove beyond doubt that many misreadings have crept in the original. (The reader should compare the different readings of these Purāṇas shown in paragraph 7 above.) It is also clear that the correct reading of विस्तरानुग्रहं सर्ग in verse 67 given there ought to be विस्तरान्निग्रहं सर्गम्. We can infer a mistake in reading if we have got evidence suggested in paragraphs 18-20 of my book "The Astronomical Method and its application to Ancient Indian Chronology". If we have got two different readings of the same text, we can adopt that which gives better meaning.

18. Lastly, it must be pointed out that we cannot regard as authoritative any work written after the accession of Chandragupta Mourya. To exclude works written after the accession of Chandragupta Mourya, we will have to consider the date of the works coming under the description above. There is no doubt that the Vedas and Brāhmaṇas were composed long before the accession of Chandragupta Mourya. The two Epics also reached their present size before this point of time. Only the eleven Upanishads, i.e., the famous ten and the "Kaushitaki", were written before this date, because they alone have been referred to in the Sūtras of Vyāsa. We shall therefore exclude all other Upanishads. Only five or six Smṛitis, namely those of Goutama, Vasishṭha, Boudhāyana, Āpastamba and Śaṅkha and Likhita were written before Chandragupta Mourya. With regard to this, it should be noted that Chandragupta's accession took place in 2790 of the Kalpa Era or in 312 B.C. that द्वापर began in 402 B.C., and ended in 202 B.C. and that त्रेता began in 702 B.C. and the dates of गौतमस्मृति and of शंखलिखितस्मृति are given by the verse

कृते तु मानवाः धर्माः त्रेतायां गौतमाः स्मृताः ।

द्वापरे शंखलिखिताः कलौ पाराशराः स्मृताः ॥

in पराशरस्मृति (see paragraph 433 of my book "The Astronomical Method, etc."). The मनुस्मृति referred to in this verse, is not the present मनुस्मृति but an older edition of the same. The present "Manu Smṛiti" was composed probably in the reign of पुष्यमित्रशुग (see धर्मरहस्य, pages 227-28). But as it appears to retain much of the previous edition of the Manu Smṛiti, we shall make use of it also cautiously. The व्यासस्मृति appears to have been written by the author of अनुशासनपर्व and शांतिपर्व (see धर्मरहस्य, pages 230-31) and we may use this also cautiously.

It is more difficult to fix the dates of the Purāṇas. "Vāyupurāṇa" and "Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa" are the oldest. The "Bhāgavata" of Śuka was written in the reign of the Nandas (see धर्मरहस्य, pages 216-25). The "Vishṇu Purāṇa" is probably as old as this "Bhāgavata Purāṇa". Some parts of the "Bhavishya Purāṇa" were in existence even before Āpastamba (see "Āpastamba, 2.9.24.6). The date of "Agni Purāṇa" is about 77 B.C. But we can rely upon its description of the ancient institutions for its aim is to summarize all Vidyās then known, and we can suppose that it did this work faithfully. In short, Purāṇas other than the three Purāṇas, namely "Vāyupurāṇa," "Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa" and the "Bhāgavata Purāṇa" may be used to support these three Purāṇas.

The dates of the Sūtras are quite uncertain. They were not regarded as authoritative by Jaimini (see "Jaimini Sūtras", 1.3.11-14). The Sūtras are intended to explain, systematize and perhaps to supplement the contents of the Brāhmaṇas and the Smṛitis and are thus secondary sources of information and must be used cautiously. It is difficult to fix their dates. Some of them have been raised to the status of the Smṛitis, namely, the आपस्तम्ब स्मृति and the बौधायनस्मृति.

19. I have not been able to go through all the sources of information enumerated above. This work was given to me only in the 4th week of April last and evidently I had no time to go through all of them. I had gone through the most important of them for writing my book named धर्मरहस्य and in fact these lectures are intended to rearrange, to expand and to maintain with stronger and supplementary evidence and arguments, i.e., to reinforce what I have written in "Dharma Rahasya" about the Social Institutions in Ancient India. I shall therefore study again and study as many of the sources of information enumerated

above as is possible within the time available to me, and place the results of the study before you. And if my work remains incomplete as it is most likely to be, I hope, somebody with greater energy and time at his disposal will take up the work and following the line indicated by me, will complete it.

LECTURE II

PRELIMINARY INFORMATION

Public assemblies (लोक), public functionaries (देवता: or देव) and term of their office (कल्प or मन्वन्तर). The appointment of public functionaries (स्थापना); the place and time and author of the original design of these (सर्ग); the chronology of Ancient India.

20. Public functionaries are essential organs of a human society. Even other animals that live in groups have got at least one public functionary namely their leader. Generally single individuals are appointed as public functionaries. But when group of persons are appointed to perform any public function they become an assembly or a committee. A committee is a higher, and more organized public functionary consisting at times of several public functionaries and at times of individuals having no function other than that of voting at the meeting of the committee.

21. The Ancient Aryan Society highly civilized as it was must have got its public functionaries and its committees also. It is not possible at this distance of time to reconstruct and present a complete or intelligible picture of this society as it grew up and functioned in relation to its environment; for this purpose we will have to draw upon our imaginative faculties to a very great extent to fill in the gaps and a provisional attempt at such an imaginative reconstruction will be made in a later lecture. In the present lecture we shall rather confine ourselves to a textual discussion of such references to social institutions as we find in the Purāṇas and the Upanishads and shall attempt to show that the institutions thus referred to were not merely imaginary but real institutions. In doing so we shall at the same time be fully conscious of the limitations of our attempt and the fragmentary nature of our data.-

22. We have the following statement in "Vāyupurāṇa" in Chapter 101:

चतुर्दशैव स्थानानि वर्णितानि महर्षिभिः ।

(निर्मितानि)

लोकाख्यानि तु यानि स्युः येषु तिष्ठन्ति मानवाः ॥ १० ॥

(येषाम्)

सप्त तेषु कृतान्याहुः अकृतानि तु सप्त वै ।

भूरादयस्तु संख्याताः सप्त लोकाः कृतास्त्वह ॥ ११ ॥

(सत्यांताः)

अकृतानि तु सप्तैव प्राकृतानि तु यानि वै ।

स्थानानि स्थानिभिः सार्धं कृतानि तु (नीति) निबन्धनं ॥ १२ ॥

व्यक्तानि तु प्रवक्ष्यामि स्थानान्येतानि सप्त वै ।

भूर्लोकः प्रथमंस्तेषां द्वितीयस्तु भुवःस्मृतः ॥ १६ ॥

स्वस्तृतीयस्तु विज्ञेयः चतुर्थो वै महःस्मृतः ।

जनस्तु पंचमोलोकः तपःषष्ठो विभाव्यते ॥ १७ ॥

सत्यस्तु सप्तमो लोको निरालोकस्ततःपरम् ।

भूरिति व्याहृते पूर्वम् भूर्लोकश्च ततोऽभवत् ॥ १८ ॥

(व्याहृतेः)

द्वितीयोभुव इत्युक्त अंतरिक्षं ततोऽभवत् ।

तृतीयं स्वरित्युक्ते दिवं प्रादुर्बभूव ह ॥ १९ ॥

(कैः)

व्याहारैस्त्रिभिरेवैतैः ब्रह्मा लोकमकल्पयत् ॥ २० ॥

महेति व्याहृतैन महर्लोकस्ततोऽभवत् ।

विनिवृत्ताधिकाराणां देवानां तत्र वै क्षयः ॥ २३ ॥

जनस्तुपंचमोलोकस्तस्माज्जायन्ति वै जनाः ।

तासां स्वायंभुवाद्यानां प्रजानां जननाज्जनः ॥ २४ ॥

यास्ताः स्वायंभुवाद्याहि पुरस्तात् परिकीर्तिताः ।

(येते)

कल्पदग्धे तदा लोके प्रतिष्ठति तदा (ततः) तपः ॥ २५ ॥

(प्रतिष्ठति)

ऋभुः सनत्कुमाराद्या यत्र संत्यूर्ध्वरेतसः ।

तपसा भावितात्मानास्तत्रसंतीति वा तपः ॥ २६ ॥

सत्येति ब्रह्मणः शब्दः सत्तामात्रस्तु स स्मृतः ।

ब्रह्मलोकस्ततः सत्यः सप्तमः स तु भास्करः ॥ २७ ॥

(भास्वरः)

The variations of readings in this passage found in Chapter 2, Pāda 4 of "Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa" are given below the readings of the "Vāyupurāṇa" in brackets and corrections of readings are given in brackets in the line of the "Vāyupurāṇa" itself. The same thing is done hereafter also.

*Translation:—*There are only fourteen places named Lokas, described by the great sages. The seven of them in which stay human beings (मानवाः) are made by man (कृत) and seven are not made by man. Bhūr and others, seven in number (सप्त संख्याताः) (or ending in सप्त) are the Lokas made here (इह) that is by man on this Earth. Those Lokas that are प्राकृत that is made by the primeval cause of the Universe during the 1st three प्राकृत Sargas (see para 7) are अकृत, i.e., not made by man. The offices (स्थानानि) with the office-holders are made by man. This is the connection (निबन्धनं). Now I shall tell these seven worlds made by man (व्यक्तानि = कृतानि). The first is Bhūr Loka, and second is Bhuvār Loka, the third is Swar and the fourth is Mahar. The fifth is Jana, the sixth is Tapas, the seventh is Satya. There is darkness (निरालोक) after that, that is, no Lokas can be seen after that, that is, there are no Lokas after that. The Bhū Loka came into existence after its name the भूर् was previously uttered. The second Antarikha Loka came into existence after its name भुवर् was uttered. The third Diva came into existence after its name स्वर् was uttered. The Brahmā created the Loka, i.e., these three Lokas taken together (त्रैलोक्यम्) with these three utterances (व्याहार). Mahar Loka came into existence after its name महर् was uttered. It is the abode of officers (देव) whose authority (अधिकार) has terminated (विनिवृत्त) || 23 || The fifth is the जनलोक; people are born from it. It is called जन because the Prajās namely Swāyambhuva and others previously described are born from it. (This means that members of the Janaloka are appointed as officers or appoint officers named स्वायंसुव, etc.). The world Tapas (तपस्) is so called because it stands unburnt when the world is burnt by the Kalpa, i.e., at the termination of the Kalpa || 25 || Or it is called तपस् because Ribhu, Sanat-Kumāra and others who observe celibacy (ऊर्ध्वरेतसः) and who are purified by तपस् stay there || 26 || Satya is another word for ब्रह्मा. He is said to be only goodness, or excellence (सत्ता). Therefore the seventh Satya Brahmāloka is very brilliant (मास्वरः) || 27 ||

This passage is followed by the following statement:

इत्येते कमशः प्रोक्ता ब्रह्मव्याहारसंभवाः ॥ ३१ ॥

भूर्लोकप्रथमा लोकाः महदंताश्च ये स्मृताः ।

तान् सर्वान् सप्त सूर्यास्ते अर्चिभिर्निर्दहन्ति वै ॥ ३४ ॥

Translation:—I have here told in order the Lokas that came into existence from the utterances of Brahmā. The four Lokas beginning with भूर् and ending with महर् are all burnt by seven Suns with their rays.

Note:—It is clear from a combination of the statement in verse 34 and the statement and the word कल्पदरधे in verse 25 that the first four Lokas come to an end at the end of a Kalpa. But what are these seven Suns that burn these worlds. There is परेक्षवाद here. But what is its explanation. I suggest that the Sun here means a month. A Kalpa as shown in paragraphs 282-94 of my book "The Astronomical Method, etc." consists of four years and the four years consist of 48 months of 30 days each and an additional month of 21 days, as shown in the same book in paragraphs 252-63, i.e., a Kalpa consists of 49 months. The number 49 consists of seven groups of seven each. Hence it can be said that seven Suns or Moons burn or end the Kalpa in seven revolutions; and thus burn the Lokas that come to an end at the termination of the कल्प. Whether this suggestion of mine is acceptable or not, the fact remains that the first four Lokas were supposed to have been burnt at the end of the कल्प.

The passage quoted above describes Lokas that are created by man (कृत) and that are the abode of man (यत्र तिष्ठन्ति मानवाः). Verses 40 to 91 describe the seven Lokas not made by man अकृत under the same names भूर् भुवर् स्वर् महर्, etc. This is clear from the description in verses 40 and 41 which are as follows:

पर्यासपरिमाण्येन भूर्लोकः समितिः स्मृतः ।

(परिमाणेन) (समभिस्मृतः)

भूम्यन्तरम् यदादित्यात् अन्तरिक्षं भुवः स्मृतम् ॥ ४० ॥

सूर्यध्रुवांतरम् यच्च स्वर्गलोको दिवः स्मृतः ।

ध्रुवाज्जनांतरम् यच्च महर्लोकः स उच्यते ॥ ४१ ॥

Translation:—The Earth measured upto its end (पर्यास-परिमाणेन) is understood to be the भूर्लोक. The distance between the Earth and the Sun is understood to be the अन्तरिक्ष or भुवर्. The distance between the Sun and the Pole is understood to be the स्वर्ग or दिव. The distance between the Pole and Jana (जन?) is called the महर्लोक.

This is clearly the description of Lokas or Worlds made by the primeval cause of the Universe. It therefore proves undoubtedly that the Lokas previously described are कृत or made

by man. It is thus clear that the words भूर् भुवर् स्वर महर, etc., etc., have two meanings each, one the Loka made by man and, other Loka not made by man, i.e., made by the primeval cause of the Universe.

Now what are these Lokas made by man? They are said to be abodes of man. Therefore they may be towns, cities, etc., or assemblies for doing public duties. But in the passage quoted in paragraph 7, the पृथिवी or भूर्, अंतरिक्ष or भुवर् and दिवम् or स्वर are included in the list of public functionaries. Therefore these Lokas must be assemblies exercising public functions. Moreover these are said to have been created by words only and words cannot create cities but can create assemblies.

23. The passages quoted in the previous paragraphs describe the seven assemblies. The passage quoted hereafter describes the relation between these assemblies and the term of the office of these assemblies and the members therein.

क्षीणे कल्पे तदा तस्मिन् दाहकाले ह्युपस्थिते ।

(ततस्तस्मिन्) (काल उपस्थिते)

तस्मिन् कल्पे तदा देवा आसन् वैमानिकास्तु ये ॥ १५ ॥

(काले)

एकैकस्मिस्तुकल्पे वै देवा वैमानिकाः स्मृताः ॥ १६ ॥

देवाश्चपितरश्चैव मुनयोमनवस्तथा ।

(ऋषयोऽमृतपास्तथा)

तेषामनुचरा ये च मनुपुत्रास्तथैव च ॥ २० ॥

(श्चैव) (परन्त्यः)

मन्वंतरेषु ये ह्यासन् देवलोकं दिवौकसः ॥ २१ ॥

ततस्तेऽवश्यभावित्वाद् बुद्ध्वा पर्यायमात्मनः ।

(बुद्ध्याः)

त्रैलोक्यवासिनो देवा इहस्थानाभिमानिनः ॥ २३ ॥

(तानाभिमानिनः)

स्थितिकाले तदापूर्णे आसन्ने पश्चिमेंतरे ।

(पश्चिमेंतरे)

कल्पावसानिकादेवा तस्मिन्प्राप्ते ह्युपलब्धे ॥ २४ ॥

तेनैतुसुक्यविषादेन त्यक्त्वा स्थानानि भावतः ।

(तदौतुसुकाविषादेन त्यक्तस्थानानि भागशः)

महर्लोक्याय संविद्यास्ततस्ते दधिरे मतिं ॥ २५ ॥

(मनः)

ते युक्ता उपपद्यन्ते महसिस्थैः (स्वैः) शरीरकैः ॥ २६ ॥

(महर्षीच) (शरीरकैः)

गत्वा तु ते महर्लोकं देवसंघाश्चतुर्दश ।

ततस्तेजनलोकाय सोद्वेगा दधिरे मतिं ॥ २८ ॥

(ममः)

दशकृत्व इवावृत्य तस्माद्गच्छन्ति स्वस्तपः । (not in "Brahmāṇḍa")

तत्र कल्पान् दशस्थित्वा सत्यं गच्छन्ति वै पुनः ॥ ३० ॥

एतेन क्रमयोगेन याति कल्प निवासिनः ।

(ययुस्ते कल्पवासिनः)

एवं देवयुगानां तु सहस्राणि परस्परात् ॥ ३१ ॥

(परस्परम्)

गतानि ब्रह्मलोकं वै अपरावर्तिनीं गतिम् ।

(गत्वा तु ते ब्रह्मलोकं)

आधिपत्यम् विना ते वै ऐश्वर्येण तु तत्समाः ॥ ३२ ॥

(विमाने वै)

भवन्ति ब्रह्मणस्तुल्या रूपेण विषयेन च ।

(ब्रह्मणा)

—वायुपुराणे, अ. ७.

Translation :—Then, when the कल्प had come to an end and the time of burning had arrived, the Vaimānika Devas that were in that Kalpa (the Vaimānika Devas are those who remain Devas for one Kalpa only) namely, the Devas, Pitaras, Rishis and Manus, their followers and sons of Manu, and those who stay in Devaloka during Manvantara, whose authority terminates by a Kalpa (कल्पावसानिका), who stay in Trailokya and who are conscious of the duties of their offices in this life (इह), knowing the inevitable (अवश्यभावित्वात्) termination (पर्यायं and उपप्लवे) of their office (आत्मनः) occurring at the completion (पूर्णे) of their term (स्थितिकाल) and at the arrival of the subsequent (पश्चिमे) period (अन्तरे) and being terrified (संविन्नाः) put their heart upon going to the Maharloka and they, being intent on it (युक्ताः) go to the Maharloka with their bodies (स्वैः शरीरकैः). Then the fourteen groups of Devas, having gone to Maharloka, and being terrified (सोद्वेगाः) put their heart upon going to Janaloka. As if returning (इव आवृत्य) ten times (दशकृत्वः) from it to Swargaloka (स्वः), they go to Tapas (तपस). (Here the अन्वय is दशकृत्वः स्वर् आवृत्य इव

तस्माज्जनलोकात्तपः गच्छन्ति.) (This means probably that they performed duties of the members of स्वर्गलोक on ten occasions before going to तपस्). Staying in तपस् for ten Kalpas, they again go to Satyaloka. In this order, the Devas (public functionaries) whose term of office is one Kalpa go from one assembly to the higher assembly. In this manner rising from one Loka to another (परस्परात्) thousands of groups of Devas, went to the ब्रह्मलोक from which there is no return (अपरावर्तिनी गति). There they are equal to ब्रह्मा in ऐश्वर्य, i.e., authority with the exception of supreme authority (आधिपत्यविना). They are equal to Brahmā in appearance (रूपेण) (on account of similarity of dress) and as regards the place of residence (विषयेन).

This passage clearly gives us information on the following points:

(1) That the term of the office of the public functionaries was one Kalpa, i.e., 4 years as shown in paragraphs 282-94 of my book "The Astronomical Method, etc."

(2) That the Devas in the Trailokya, most important amongst them being देवाः, पितरः, सुनयः or सप्त ऋषयः and मनवः (Manus) went with their bodies into the Maharloka.

(3) That from Maharloka they went to Janaloka.

(4) That, while in Janaloka they as it were returned to the Swargaloka on ten occasions, i.e., performed the functions of the members of the Swargaloka and then they went to Tapoloka.

(5) That they stayed in Tapoloka for ten Kalpas and then went to Brahmaloka where they become equal to Brahmā in everything except his supreme authority (आधिपत्य).

(6) That Brahmā was the supreme head (अधिपतिः) of the State. Probably after his death the seniormost member of his assembly, the Brahmaloka, or his son became Brahmā.

That the period of staying in Maharloka was also one Kalpa is shown by the following statement in Chapter 101 of the Vāyupurāṇa :

देवाः सप्तर्षयश्चैव मनवः पितरस्तथा ॥ ४ ॥

सर्वे ह्यपिक्रमातीता महर्लोकं समाश्रिताः ॥ ५ ॥

विनिवृत्ताधिकारास्ते यावन्मन्वंतरक्षयः ॥ ६ ॥

Translation:—The Devas, Saptarshis, Manus, Pitaras, all having gone (अतीताः) to the end of their course (क्रम) (i.e., the term) stay (समाश्रिताः) in Maharloka, being deprived of their authority, till the termination (क्षय) of a Manvantara, i.e., Kalpa.

24. We have now known the public assemblies and their relations with each other. Let us now find out the public functionaries who are members of these assemblies. We have got a list of public functionaries given in the 5th Chapter of Nighaṇṭu. But at present this chapter is not properly understood. I shall therefore discuss the real meaning of the same.

We have got in this Chapter a list of 3 + 13 + 36 + 32 + 36 + 31 or 151 names (beginning with अग्नि and ending in देवपत्न्यः). The Nighaṇṭu says that they are पदानि, i.e., places. Now the word पद like its English equivalent the place, has two meanings, first an office and secondly a locality, i.e., a house, town, abode, or a place for residence. Now in the list we have such names as मनुः and सप्तर्षयः. They are not places in the second sense but are men. Therefore they, i.e., the Manu and the Saptarshis and thus all others mentioned in this fifth Chapter must be places in the first sense, i.e., offices in human society. The names in the fourth Chapter also are said to be पदानि. But they being given in a Chapter different from the fifth must mean place in the second sense. The निरुक्त which is a commentary on Nighaṇṭu calls this fifth Chapter the दैवतकाण्ड ("अथातोदैवतम्" in Chapter 7) meaning that the names in the fifth Chapter are those of देवताः or देवाः. Now these देवताः or देवाः are said to be पदानि in Nighaṇṭu. Therefore the word पद must have that sense which is common both to the words देवता and पद. "Office" is the only sense that is common to both these words. On the whole it is clear that the names in the fifth Chapter are the names of offices in human society.

Now what are the assemblies constituted by these offices? About this we have the following verses in an edition of Nighaṇṭu.

अग्न्यादि देवपत्न्यन्तं देवताकाण्डमुच्यते ।
अग्न्यादि देवीर्जाहुत्यन्तःक्षितिगतोगणः ॥
वाय्वादयो भगताः स्युः अंतरिक्षस्थदेवताः ।
सूर्यादिदेवपत्न्यन्ताः द्युस्थानदेवता इति ॥

Translation:—The Devatākāṇḍa is said to extend from अग्नि to देवपत्नी. From अग्नि to देवीर्जाहुति is the group (गण) in i.e., क्षिति or पृथिवी, i.e., the assembly named भूलोक. From वायु to भग are the Devatās in अंतरिक्ष, i.e., the assembly named सुवर. From सूर्य to देवपत्नी are the Devatās in the द्युलोक, i.e., the assembly named द्यु or स्वर्ग.

This shows the public functionaries in the first three assemblies named भूर्भुवर् स्वर or पृथ्वी, अंतरिक्ष and इदं, द्यु or स्वर्ग. The same is told in the following statements in निरुक्तः

अथानुक्रमिष्यामः । अग्निः पृथिवीस्थानः । (सप्तमोऽध्यायः)

अथातोमध्यस्थाना देवताः । तासां वायुः प्रथमागामी भवति ॥ (दशमोऽध्यायः)

अथातोद्युस्थाना देवताः । तासामश्विनौ प्रथमागामिनौ भवतः ॥

(द्वादशाध्यायः)

Translation :—Now we shall begin. Agni is in the Loka named पृथिवी (Seventh Chapter). Now, hence the Devatās in middle Loka, i.e., the Antariksha Loka. Vāyu is the first of them (Tenth Chapter). Now the Devatās in the Loka named द्यु. Aświnau, i.e., two Aświns are the first of them.

The information here differs a little from that given in the verses quoted above. According to those verses the Swarga Loka begins with सूर्य but according to these statements in Nirukta it begins with Aświnau. That means that there is doubt about the eight public functionaries named अश्विनौ, उषा, सूर्या, वृषाकपायी, सरण्यूः, त्वष्टा, सविता and भग.

It should be noted that in same way as the words भूर् भुवर् स्वर, etc., have a double meaning, the names अग्नि, etc., must have a double meaning ; for instance अग्नि or इंद्र is a public functionary in human society as well as imaginary Devatā in the Loka created by the primeval cause of the world.

Now anybody can know the Devatās in भूर्लोक, भुवर्लोक and स्वर्लोक. But we are not really concerned with all the Devatās. We are mainly concerned with वायु, इंद्र and पितरः in the Bhuvan-loka, and with मनु, सप्तऋषयः and देवाः in the द्युलोक. In the subsequent chapters we shall have to investigate their appointment and functions.

25. Now who appoints these public functionaries ? Let us consider this question. Verses 70 and 73 quoted in paragraph 7 show that the creator of the Kaumāra Sarga, i.e., the creator of public functionaries is ब्रह्मा the supreme head of the state. The following passage from वायुपुराण also proves the same:

पितृभिर्मनुभिश्चैव सार्धं सप्तर्षिभिस्तु ये ।

यज्वानश्चैव तेऽप्यन्ये तद्भक्ताश्चैव तैः सह ॥ १२१ ॥

महर्लोकं गमिष्यन्ति त्यक्त्वा त्रैलोक्यमाश्वराः ।

ततस्तेषु गतेषूर्ध्वं क्षीणे मन्वंतरे तदा ।

अनाधारमिदं सर्वं त्रैलोक्यं वै भविष्यति ॥ १२२ ॥

ततस्तेषु व्यतीतेषु त्रैलोक्यस्थेश्वरेष्विह ।

सेन्द्रास्तेषु (सेन्द्रेष्वेषु) महर्लोकं यस्मिंस्तेकल्पवासिनः ॥ १२४ ॥

(संप्राप्तेषु)

जिताद्याश्च गणाह्यत्र चाक्षुषांता चतुर्दश ।

(अजिताद्या) (यत्र) (आयुष्मन्तः)

मन्वंतरेषु सर्वेषु देवास्ते वै महौजसः ॥ १२५ ॥

(चतुर्दश)

महर्लोकं परित्यज्य गणास्तेवै चतुर्दश ।

सशरीराश्च श्रूयन्ते जनलोकं सहानुगाः ॥ १२७ ॥

(श्वाश्रयन्ते) (जनलोके)

एवं देवेष्वतीतेषु महर्लोकोज्जनं प्रति.... ॥ १२८ ॥

शन्येषु लोकस्थानेषु महान्तेषु भूरादिषु.... ॥ १२९ ॥

(भुवादिषु)

संहृत्यतांस्ततो ब्रह्मा देवर्षिपितृदानवान् ।

(ता)

संस्थापयति वै सर्गं महद्दृष्ट्या युगक्षये ॥ १३० ॥

(सर्गं महद्दृष्ट्या युगक्षये)

—वायुपुराण, अ. १०० ; ब्रह्मांडपुराण, पाद ४, अ. १.

The underlined portions of the passage are not seen in "Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa". The readings in "Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa" where they differ from those in the "Vāyupurāṇa" are given below the "Vāyupurāṇa" reading in brackets. Corrections in readings are given in brackets in the lines of the "Vāyupurāṇa".

Translation:—The Devatās (ईश्वराः) with Pitṛis, Manus, Saptarshis, Sacrificers and their devotees leave त्रैलोक्य, i.e., the three Lokas भूर, भुवर and स्वर and go to Maharloka. When they go up, at the end of the period of one Manu, all this Trailokya shall be without support ॥ 122 ॥ When the Devatās (ईश्वराः) of Trailokya with इंद्र went to Maharloka, where there are fourteen groups beginning with अजित and ending with चाक्षुष, dwelling for one कल्प (कल्पवासिनः), those Dévas of great lustre (महौजसः) (in the महर्लोक of course) namely the fourteen groups leave Maharloka and go to (आश्रयन्ते) Janaloka with their bodies accompanied by their followers at all the changes of Manus (मन्वंतरेषु सर्वेषु) ॥ 127 ॥ When the Devas go from Maharloka to Janaloka and when the public assemblies (लोकस्थानेषु) beginning with भूर and ending with महर् become vacant, then the ब्रह्मा, at

the end of the Yuga, establishes the Sarga, *i.e.*, the Kaumāra Sarga, with a high objective (महद्दृष्ट्या) after collecting (संहृत्य; संहार has this meaning also; see Apte's Dictionary), *i.e.*, after selecting or picking up and bringing together the Devas, Pitṛis, Rishis, and Dānavas.

This passage especially the last verse shows that it is the ब्रह्मा the supreme authority in the State who appointed the Devas in the first three assemblies भूर् भुवर् and स्वर्. This is confirmed by the verse

भूयः सप्तर्षयस्ते च उत्पन्नाः सप्त मानसाः ।
(स्त्वेवं)

पुत्रत्वे कल्पिताश्चैव स्वयमेव स्वयंभुवा ॥ १० ॥

—ब्रह्मांड, पाद ३, अ. १; वायुपुराण, अ. ६५.

Translation:—And again arose the seven Saptarshis created by mind and they were adopted as his sons by Swayambhū himself. It should be noted here that स्वयंभू is another name of ब्रह्मा. He was called स्वयंभू because he himself like Shivāji, assumed supreme authority in the State and did not inherit it or get it by express gift by the people. That ब्रह्मा was called स्वयंभू also is proved by the verse :

ब्रह्मा स्वयंभूर्भगवान् दृष्ट्वा सिद्धिं तु कर्मजाम् ॥ १६० ॥

in Chapter 8 of वायुपुराण where the adjective स्वयंभू is attached to the word ब्रह्मा.

In short it is proved by these quotations, that it was ब्रह्मा the supreme head of the State who appointed the public functionaries.

25-A. Now we shall consider the qualifications required for being appointed as a public functionary. In this respect the passages in 'Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad', Chapter I, 'Brāhmaṇa' 4, Khaṇḍas 11-15 and in "Chhāndogya Upanishad", Chapter II, Khaṇḍa 20, are to be considered. They are as follows :

“ब्रह्म वा इदमग्र आसीत् एकमेव तदेकं सत् न व्यभवत् तच्छ्रेयोरूपमत्यसृजत क्षत्रं यान्येतानि देवत्रा क्षत्राणि इंद्रो वरुणः सोमोरुद्रः पर्जन्यो यमोमृत्युरीशान इति . . . ॥ ११ ॥

स नैव व्यभवत् स विश्वमसृजत यान्येतानि देवजातानि गणश आख्यायन्ते वसवो रुद्राः आदित्याः विश्वेदेवा मरुत इति ॥ १२ ॥

स नैव व्यभवत् स श्रौद्रं वर्णमसृजत् पूषणमियं वै पूषा इयं ह्रीदं सर्वं पुण्यति यदिदं किंच ॥ १३ ॥

तदेतद् ब्रह्म क्षत्रं विद् शूद्रस्तदग्निनैव देवेषु ब्रह्माभवत् ब्राह्मणो मनुष्येषु क्षत्रियेण क्षत्रियो वैश्येन वैश्यः शूद्रेण शूद्रः तस्मादग्रावैव देवेषु लोकमिच्छते ब्राह्मणे मनुष्येषु एताभ्यां हि रूपाभ्यां ब्रह्माभवत् ॥ १५ ॥ ”—बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्.

“अग्निर्हिकारो वायुः प्रस्ताव आदित्य उद्गीथो नक्षत्राणि प्रतिहारश्चंद्रमा निधन-
येतद्राजनं देवतासु प्रोतम् । स य एवमेतद्राजनं देवतासु प्रोतम् वेद एतासामेव
देवतानाम् सलोकतां सार्ष्टिताम् सायुज्यं गच्छति सर्वमायुरेतिज्योक् जीवति महान्
प्रजया पशुभिर्भवति महान् कीर्त्या ब्राह्मणान् न निदेत् तद्व्रतम् ॥ २० ॥”

—छांदोग्योपनिषद्

Translation:—“This society was in the beginning only of one Brāhmaṇa Varṇa and thus homogeneous (एकं). Being homogeneous it did not prosper. It created the beneficent (श्रेयोरूपं) Kshatriya Varṇa and those amongst the Devas (देवत्राः) that are Kshatriyas namely इंद्र, वरुण, सोम, रुद्र, पर्जन्य, यम, सृत्यु, ईशान.... ॥ 11 ॥ Even then, the society did not prosper. It created the beneficent Vaiśya Varṇa and that class of Devas (देवजातानि) that are mentioned in groups (गणशः) namely Vasus, Rudras, Ādityas, Visve-devas, and Maruts ॥ 12 ॥ Even then it did not prosper. It created the beneficent Śūdra Varṇa and the Deva named Pūshan. This class of Śūdras is Pūshā, for, it nourishes whatever there is ॥ 13 ॥ The Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra were thus created. At the same time (तत्) the Brāhmaṇa amongst men became Brāhmaṇa amongst the Devas in the form of अग्नि (अग्निना); the Brāhmaṇa amongst men became Kshatriya amongst Devas in the form of Kshatriya Devas (क्षत्रियेण); the Brāhmaṇa amongst men became Vaiśya amongst Devas in the form of Vaiśya Devas; the Brāhmaṇa amongst men became Śūdra amongst Devas in the form of Śūdra Deva. Therefore people desire to stay (लोकं) in the office named अग्नि amongst gods (देवेषु) and to stay in the Brāhmaṇa Varṇa amongst men. Because the Brāhmaṇa assumed these two forms”.... ॥ 15 ॥ “Bṛihadāraṇyaka”
“The public functionary अग्नि is हिकार, the public functionary वायु is प्रस्ताव, the public functionary आदित्य is उद्गीथ, the public functionaries named Nakshatrāṇi is प्रतिहार and public functionary named चंद्रमा is निधन. Thus is the Sāma of the rulers (राजनं) woven with the Devas. He who knows this साम, goes to the assembly of those Devas (सलोकतां) or becomes their equal in power (सार्ष्टिता) or becomes the Deva himself (सायुज्यतां), obtains the full period of life, lives happily and becomes great by progeny,

cattle, and fame. He should not censure the Brāhmaṇas. That is the rule to be observed by him" || 20 ||

The passage in the "Chhāndogya" suggests that there is some relation between Brāhmaṇas and the public functionaries. The passage in the "Bṛihadāraṇyaka" clearly shows that the Devas, i.e., public functionaries were selected from amongst the Brāhmaṇas. Thus it is clear that the qualification required for being appointed a Deva was, that of being a Brāhmaṇa.

26. Now we have to consider three important questions : (i) who designed the constitution ? (ii) when did he design it ? and (iii) where was this constitution in force ? We shall consider these three questions all at once.

27. The following passages give us the real history of those ancient times :

आसीत् सप्तमः कल्पः पद्मोनाम द्विजोत्तमाः ।
 वाराहः सांप्रतस्तेषां तस्य वक्ष्यामि विस्तरम् ॥ १२ ॥
 भवस्तु प्रथमः कल्पः लोकादौ प्रथितः पुरा ।
 ज्ञातव्यो भगवान् यत्र आनंदः सांप्रतः स्वयम् ॥ २८ ॥
 ब्रह्मस्थानमिदं दिव्यं प्राप्तं वा (प्राप्तवान्) दिव्यसंभवम् ।
 द्वितीयस्तु भुवः कल्पः तृतीयस्तप उच्यते ॥ २९ ॥

.. .. .

ऋतुकल्पस्तथाषष्ठः सप्तमस्तु कृतुः स्मृतः ॥ ३० ॥
 अष्टमस्तु भवेद्बृहतिः नवमो हव्यवाहनः ॥ ३१ ॥

वायुपुराण, अ. २१.

महेश्वर उवाच :—

“अयं यो वर्तते कल्पः विश्वरूपस्त्वसौ स्मृतः ।
 ब्रह्मस्थानमिदं वाऽपि यदा प्राप्तं त्वया विभो ॥
 तदा प्रभृति कल्पश्च त्रयस्त्रिंशत्तमोऽहयम् ॥ ४८ ॥
 आनंदः स तु विशेय आनंदं ते महालयः ।
 गालव्यगोत्र तपसा मम पुत्रत्वमागतः ॥ ५० ॥

—वायुपुराण, अ. २३.

Translation:—"Oh! Brāhmaṇas, of those Kalpas, the seventh Kalpa was Padma by name; the present (eighth) Kalpa is Vārāha. I shall tell its details. Bhava should be known to be the formerly famous first Kalpa in the beginning of the World (New State). In this Kalpa, the present Brahmā Ānanda, himself obtained the

divine office of Brahmā of divine origin. The second Kalpa is Bhuwa. The third is Tapas. The sixth Kalpa is called Ritu. The seventh is Kratu and the eighth is Vanhi and the ninth is Havyavāhana" Chapter 21. The Maheswar said (to Brahmā) "The Kalpa that is going on is Viśwaroopa. This is the 33rd Kalpa since you obtained this office named Brahmā. Oh Ānanda, the great palace of your residence should also be known to be Ānanda. Oh, descendant of the Gālavya Gotra you have become my son by your austerities (तपः).

In this passage, the enumeration of the Kalpas as seventh and eighth, shows that they are human Kalpas, *i.e.*, periods of time devised by man and not intervals of the manifestation of the world; for the latter cannot be numbered and enumerated. These eight Kalpas must be the Mahākalpas and the 33 Kalpas given afterwards must be smaller Kalpas; for the 33 Kalpas are given by way of details of the 8th Vārāha Kalpa (तस्य वक्षामि विस्तरम्) and the seventh and eighth out of these 33 Kalpas have names quite different from Padma and Vārāha, the names of the seventh and eighth Kalpas previously given.

All this shows that at the beginning of the period named Vārāha Mahākalpa, a certain learned man of the Gālavya Gotra, Ānanda by name, obtained the office of Brahmā, *i.e.*, of supreme authority in the State, by his own efforts (स्वयम्), *i.e.*, He established a new State. This is also shown by the word लोकादौ which can only mean here "in the beginning of the State". When Ānanda established a new State, he must have designed a constitution and several institutions. This is expressly stated in the following passage :

कल्पस्यादौ तु बहुशः यस्मात्संस्थाश्चतुर्दश ।

(सुबहुला)

कल्पयामास वै ब्रह्मा तस्मात्कल्पो निरुच्यते ॥ ७७ ॥

संख्येष्टा सर्व भूतानां कल्पादिषु पुनः पुनः ।

त्यक्ताव्यक्तो महादेवस्तस्य सर्वमिदं जगत् ॥ ७८ ॥

—वायुपुराणे, अ. ७; ब्रह्मांडपुराणे, पाद २, अ. ६.

Translation:—In the beginning of the Kalpa, Brahmā created fourteen large (सुबहुलाः) institutions. Therefore it is called कल्प (कल्प = to design or create). The manifested and unmanifested great lord (महादेव) is the creator of all things and beings (भूतानां) again and again in the beginning of Kalpas. All this world arises from him (तस्य).

This passage says that fourteen large institutions were created by ब्रह्मा at the beginning of Kalpa. The ब्रह्मा is however described both as व्यक्त and अव्यक्त. व्यक्तब्रह्मा is the supreme lord of the State and अव्यक्तब्रह्मा is the primeval cause of the universe. The passage therefore describes both the creations—the creations by man and the creation by the primeval cause of the universe. Therefore this passage shows that the supreme lord of the State named Ānanda created fourteen institutions in the beginning of the Vārāha Kalpa. The fourteen institutions probably are 7 Lokas or assemblies already mentioned, 1 Varnas, 1 Āśramas, 1 Vivāha, 1 Yajña, Chronology, System of constellations and Dharma (आचारधर्म).

28. Now the place where these institutions were created and enforced must be the country between सरस्वती and दशद्रुती the present Ambala District for this country is called ब्रह्मावर्त as shown in "Manu Smṛiti", verses 17 and 19 in Chapter 2 and ब्रह्मावर्त means a country occupied, i.e., ruled by ब्रह्मा.

We have thus replied to all the three questions set forth in paragraph 26.

28-A. It may be objected that these public assemblies and the public functionaries are all imaginary and unreal, specially as we have not been able to find out their functions. The objection cannot stand. I have been able to find out the functions of Manu and Saptarshis and they will be given in the 6th lecture. Lecture 5th will also show the particular historical persons who held the offices of Manu and will show (in paragraph 60th) that Śuchi a king of Magadha held the office of Indra. In the "Mahābhārata", the Dewas, Sūrya, Indra, Agni, Yama, Vāyu and the two Aświns are described as acting like human beings and Arjuna is described as having gone to and resided in Indra's abode. In the "Rāmāyana" too the king Daśaratha is described as having gone to help Indra in his fight with his enemy (Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa, Sarga 9). All this clearly shows that these Devas were real human beings and that they were public functionaries is shown by Nighaṇṭu itself which says that they were Padas.

This shows that the Devas given in the list of the Nighaṇṭu along with these, are also public functionaries and that their Lokas the Bhūr, Bhuvār and Swar must be public assemblies, as they were created only by the words of Brahmā and as words cannot produce places of residence. Moreover, the highly

civilized Aryan Society must have got its public assemblies and public functionaries; and "Vāyupurāṇa" proposes to describe Sarga which has been proved in the first lecture to include the creation of public institutions and public functionaries and the passages in "Vāyupurāṇa" quoted in this lecture are the only passages that can be construed as describing public assemblies and public functionaries. Therefore they must be held to describe real public assemblies and real public functionaries. It should be noted that the passages describe seven man-made Lokas as distinct from seven others not made by man and that though some of the latter may be imaginary the former cannot be imaginary. The objection is thus totally refuted.

29. Now I shall acquaint you with the system of chronology devised by Ānanda Brahmā ; because knowledge of that system is quite necessary to understand the Purāṇas properly.

A month consisted of 30 days each. The year consisted of twelve such months. But every fourth year, an intercalary month of 21 days was added. Let us call this fourth year, the long year. The period of four years ending with the long year, was called the Chatur-yuga or simply the Yuga. It is also called a Kalā in one passage. The Chatur-yuga was also called a Kalpa or Manvantara because another Manu and other public functionaries were appointed in every Chatur-yuga. In every 28th Chatur-yuga, the intercalary month was made to consist of twenty days only.

The Mahākalpa consisted of 1000 years, divided into the first Kṛita Yuga of 400 years, the second Tretā Yuga of 300 years, the third Dwāpara Yuga of 200 years and the fourth Kali Yuga of 100 years. A Mahākalpa is called also simply also a Kalpa. A Hasra (हस्र) or public festivity named Aśwamedha Yajña was celebrated in every "long year", i.e., the fourth year. Another public festivity named द्वादशवार्षिक सत्र was celebrated for 12 years at the end of every Mahākalpa. The word सहस्र when it means time therefore means four years or one thousand years, according as it suits the context. The system of constellations was changed at the end of every Mahākalpa, i.e., the constellation at the beginning of the year was changed and taken backwards by one constellation.

One-tenth part of Kṛita, Tretā, Dwāpara or Kali, in the beginning and in the end was called its interium or thus the interium between Kṛita and Tretā consisted of 70 years, that

between Tretā and Dwāpara of 50 years, that between Dwāpara and Kali of 30 years and that between Kali and Kṛita consisted of 50 years.

The Swēta Vārāha Mahākalpa or simply the Vārāha Kalpa was started by Ānanda Brahmā, 3102 years before the beginning of the Christian Era on Thursday, the Chaitra Suddha Pratipadā, *i.e.*, the 1st Tithi of the bright half of Chaitra, when all the planets were seen to be near Revatī. Another Mahākalpa ought to have been started a thousand years after that. But the Ṛishis of those days did not do that and instead they said that the second revolution of the Yugas, *i.e.*, Kṛita, Tretā, Dwāpara and Kali began and thus the Vārāha Mahākalpa was continued and is still continuing, and going through the sixth revolution of the Yugas, namely the Kṛita, Tretā, Dwāpara and Kali, it being Kṛita Yuga at present. The first day of the second revolution of the Yugas was a Sunday and it is from that day, probably that the seven week-days have been adopted and are in vogue.

All this has been proved in the 3rd lecture of my book "The Astronomical Method, etc." ; that lecture should be referred to for the proof of the above statements.

LECTURE III

THE VARNAS

30. All men are not born equal, *i.e.*, with equal capacities. If a man does a work for which he has got inborn capacities, he gets happiness and the work also bears good fruit. Therefore every man must be made to do that work for which he has got natural capacities. Every man must do what he can and every man must get what he wants. Every man has an equal right to happiness and this can be realized by making him do what he can and by giving him all he wants. Again, any society requires for its well-being several classes of men, *e.g.*, a class that protects it from external and internal aggression, a class that gives the society its laws or rules of conduct, a class that produces food and other necessities of life, a class that produces several handicraft articles, a class of menial workers, etc. If a man is put in that class for which his inborn capacities befit him, his work bears best fruit and gives him greatest happiness. The Ancient Indians saw these principles in very early times, of course, after experiences unrecorded in history, and to give effect to these principles they divided their society into four classes called Varnas and ordained duties for each class. This is shown by the following passage:

ब्रह्मा स्वयंभूर्भगवान् दृष्ट्वा सिद्धिं तु कर्मजां ॥ १६० ॥

मर्यादाः स्थापयामास यथारब्धाः (यथारक्षन्) परस्परं ॥ १६१ ॥

(मर्यादां) (यथारक्षत्)

ये वै परिग्रहीतारस्तेषामासन् वधात्मकाः ।

इतरेषां कृतव्राणाः स्थापयामास क्षत्रियान् ॥ १६२ ॥

उपतिष्ठन्ति ये तान् वै यावन्तो निर्भयास्तथा ।

सत्यं ब्रह्म यथाभूतं वुर्वन्तो ब्राह्मणाश्च ते ॥ १६३ ॥

ये चान्येष्वबलास्तेषां वैशसं कर्म संस्थिताः ।

कीनाशं नाशयन्ति स्म पृथिव्यां प्रागतं द्रिताः ॥ १६४ ॥

वैश्यानेव तु तानाहुः (ह) कीनाशान् वृत्तिसाधकान् ।

शोचन्तश्च द्रवन्तश्च परिचर्यासु ये रताः ॥ १६५ ॥

निस्तेजसोऽल्पवीर्याश्च शूद्रांस्तानब्रवीत्तु सः ।

तेषां कर्माणि धर्माश्च ब्रह्मा तु व्यदधात्प्रभुः ॥ १६६ ॥

संस्थितौ प्राकृतायां तु चातुर्वर्ण्यस्य सर्वशः ।

पुनः प्रजास्तु ता मोहात्तान् धर्मान्ता(श्च)न्वपालयन् ॥ १६७ ॥

(मोहाद् धर्मं तं नान्वपालयन्)

वर्णधर्मैरजीवन्त्यो व्यरुध्यन्त परस्परं ।

ब्रह्मात्मर्थं बुद्ध्वा तु याथातथ्येन वै प्रभुः ॥ १६८ ॥

क्षत्रियाणां बलं दंडं युद्धमाजीवमादिशत् ।

याजनाध्यापनं चैव तृतीयं च प्रतिग्रहम् ॥ १६९ ॥

ब्राह्मणानां विभुस्तेषां कर्माण्येतान्यथादिशत् ।

पाशुपाल्यं वाणिज्यं च कृषिं चैव विशां ददौ ॥ १७० ॥

शिल्पाजीवं मृतिं चैव शूद्राणां व्यदधात्प्रभुः ।

सामान्यानि तु कर्माणि ब्रह्मक्षत्रविशां पुनः ॥ १७१ ॥

यजनाध्ययनं दानं सामान्यानि तु तेषु वै ॥ १७२ ॥

—वायुपुराण, अ. ८.

Useful readings in the corresponding passage of ब्रह्मांडपुराण (पाद २, अ. ७) are given below that of the वायुपुराण in brackets. Corrections n readings are given in the line of the वायुपुराण in brackets.

Translation:—The self-made (स्वयंभू) Brahmā (the supreme head of the State named Ānanda) knowing how work bears good fruit (कर्मजां सिद्धिं) established limitations (rules) by which people protected each other (यथाऽरक्षन् परस्परम्) ॥ 161 ॥ He established as Kshatriyas (warriors) those who caught and killed and thus protected others ॥ 161 ॥ Those many were Brāhmaṇas who stand by the Kshatriyas fearlessly and declare ब्रह्म, *i.e.*, the principle of conduct, *i.e.*, the law as it is (यथाभूतं) ॥ 163 ॥ He called the others Vaiśyas, the others who though not strong in mind, *i.e.*, timid (अबलाः has to be taken as an opposite to निर्भयाः in the previous verse) did very hard work (वैशसंकर्म) and destroyed death by hunger (कीनाशं) being not idle, *i.e.*, ever industrious, and who by cultivating the ground (कीनाशान्) achieved means of livelihood (वृत्तिसाधकान्) ॥ 164-65 ॥ He called them Śūdras, who having no spirit (निस्तेजसः and having very little firmness (अल्पवीर्याः) were given to lamentation (शोचन्तः) and to running away from danger (द्रवन्तः) and took delight (रक्ताः) in serving others. Brahmā the supreme lord ordained their actions and duties (धर्माः) ॥ 166 ॥ However though thus the institution of the four Varnas was completely established (प्राकृतायां), the people (प्रजाः) did not again observe these laws (धर्मान्) on account of foolishness (मोहात्) ॥ 167 ॥ And they began to do harm (व्यरुध्यन्त) to each other by not living according to

the laws of the Varnas. But the supreme lord Brahmā, having known that subject (तमर्थं), i.e., the principles of the system of Varnas, correctly (याथातथ्येन) || 168 || had ordained army, punishment and fighting as the means of livelihood (आजीवं) for a Kshatriya; for Brāhmaṇas, he had ordained teaching (अध्यापनं), acceptance of gifts and helping others to perform sacrifices (याजनं) and had given cattle-rearing, trade and cultivation to Vaiśyas || 170 || and had ordained for Śūdras livelihood by handicrafts and service (भृतिं) and he had also ordained sacrifice, study and gifts as common to Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas || 172 ||

31. This division of the society into Varnas, was made as early as 3102 B.C. by the Brahmā named Ānanda. For we know from the following two passages that Swāyambhuva Manu at the beginning of Tretā Yuga (2702 B.C.) re-established the system of Varnas following the regulations of Brahmā:

वर्णाश्रमव्यवस्थानं तेषां ब्रह्मा तथा करोत् ।

पुनः प्रजास्तुतामोहात्तान् धर्मान्ब्रह्मपालयन् ॥ ५५ ॥

परस्परविरोधेन मनुं ताः पुनरन्वयुः ।

मनुः स्वायंभुवो दृष्ट्वा याथातथ्यं प्रजापतिः ॥ ५६ ॥

ध्यात्वा तु शतरूपाया पुमान् (यां पुत्रौ) स उदपादयत् ।

प्रियव्रतोत्तानपादौ प्रथमं (प्रथमौ) तौ महीपती ॥ ५७ ॥

ततः प्रभृति राजान उत्पन्ना दंडधारिणः ॥ ५८ ॥

—वायुपुराण, अ. ५७; ब्रह्माण्डपुराण, पाद, २, अ. २९.

The useful readings of the ब्रह्माण्डपुराण are given in brackets.

Translation:—In that way the Brahmā established for them the system of Varnas and Āśramas. But again the people (प्रजाः) did not observe those laws on account of foolishness || 55 || and then on account of mutual conflict (परस्परविरोधेन) caused thereby, they again followed मनु. The Swāyambhuva Manu, the lord of the people (प्रजापतिः), having seen the correct thing (याथातथ्यं) || 56 || and having given thought to it, produced from Śataroopa two sons named प्रियव्रत and उत्तानपाद the first kings || 57 || From that time arose Kings who punish those who transgress the laws (दंडधारिणः) || 58 ||

This passage and the next clearly show that the laws of Varna and Āśrama established by Brahmā were in abeyance for a certain period and were revived by Swāyambhuva Manu, who established a heritable kingdom for enforcing those laws. The

date of Swāyambhuva Manu is 432 of the Vārāha Kalpa (see paragraph 365 of my book "The Astronomical Method, etc."). Therefore the date of Brahmā who first established Varṇas must be prior to this and thus Brahmā must be identical with Ānanda who as we have already seen established the State in the beginning of the Vārāha Kalpa, i.e., 3102 B.C.

तत्र त्रेता युगस्यादौ मनुः सप्तर्षयश्च ये ।

श्रौतं स्मार्तं च धर्मं च ब्रह्मणा च प्रबोदितम् ॥ ३९ ॥

दाराग्निहोत्रसंयोगं ऋग्यजुः सामसंज्ञितं (संहितम्) ।

इत्यादिलक्षणं श्रौतं धर्मं सप्तर्षयोऽब्रुवन् ॥ ४० ॥

परंपरागतं धर्मं स्मार्तं चाचारलक्षणं ।

वर्णाश्रमाचारयुतं मनुः स्वायंभुवोऽब्रवीत् ॥ ४१ ॥

—वायुपुराण, अ. ५७; ब्रह्मांडपुराण, पाद २, अ. २९.

The useful readings of the ब्रह्मांडपुराण are given in the brackets.

Translation:—Then in the beginning of Tretā Yuga, Manu and Saptarshis declared the Śrouta and Smārta Dharma promulgated by Brahmā ॥ 39 ॥ The Śrouta Dharma embodied (संहितम्) in ऋग्, यजुष् and साम and consisting of Marriage (दारासंयोग) and Yajña or worship of fire (अग्निहोत्रसंयोग) was declared by the Saptarshis ॥ 40 ॥ The Smārta Dharma, traditionally handed down (परंपरागतम्), consisting of the duties (आचार) of Varṇas and Āśrama was declared by Swāyambhuva Manu ॥ 31 ॥

This passage also says that the laws of Varṇa and Āśrama were those promulgated by Brahmā and traditionally handed down. Therefore it follows that the division of the society into Varṇas was first made by the Brahmā Ānanda in B.C. 3102 at the beginning of Vārāha Kalpa.

32. It may be objected that these four classes must exist in any society of any time and that therefore the Brahmā Ānanda did nothing in reality. Here it should be noted that the state-nients in the Purāṇas must be taken to refer to something actually done by Brahmā in those days, and that something can only be this that in the system established by Brahmā every man's position in any Varṇa was not settled by his own sweet will as in the other societies but by the decision of some public functionary or automatically by some law ordained by Brahmā or some other public functionary.

33. Now the question is by what public functionary or by what law was man's position settled in the system of Varṇas

established by Brahmā. The following passage gives us information about this:

मनोः क्षत्रं विशश्चैव सप्तर्षिभ्योद्विजातयः ।

एतन्मन्वंतरं प्रोक्तं समासाच्चतु विस्तरात् ॥ २२ ॥

—वायुपुराण, अ. ६२ ; ब्रह्मांडपुराण, पाद २, अ. ३६.

Translation:—The Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas arise from Manu and the Brāhmaṇas arise from Saptarshis. This is called a Manvantara if we are to speak in brief and not in details.

What is the real meaning of this verse? Does it mean that Manu procreated Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas from Kshatriyā and Vaiśyā women respectively and that Saptarshis procreated Brāhmaṇas? Such procreation can be done by any ordinary man and that would not therefore entitle him to be called a Manu or a Saptarshi, and that does not require public functionaries as Manus and Saptarshis were. Moreover, the act referred to in this verse, is described as प्रविभाग, i.e., a division or selection and separation in the verse

वर्णानां प्रविभागाश्च त्रेतायां संप्रकीर्तिताः ।

वायुपुराण, अ. ५७, श्लोक ५१ ; ब्रह्मांडपुराण, अ. २९, श्लोक ६५.

Therefore it follows that this verse means that the public functionary Manus selected and separated the Kshatriyas and the Vaiśyas and the public functionaries Saptarshis selected and separated Brāhmaṇas.

34. If a Man's position in any class depends upon his selection by a public functionary, it would necessitate continuous existence and working of the public functionary. And as a matter of fact by the constitution devised by Ānanda Brahmā, a Manu and Saptarshis were to be appointed in every Kalpa, i.e., every fourth year and of the fourteen reputed Manus, the first five must have been appointed after short intervals because the 3rd, the 4th and the 5th Uttama, Tāmasa, Raiwata Manus were the grandsons of the first the Swāyambhuva Manu (see Chapter 62 of the "Vāyupurāṇa" and paragraph 367 of my book "The Astronomical Methods, etc."). But the sixth the Chākshusha Manu being the 9th descendant of Swāyambhuva Manu, must have been appointed long after the Raiwata Manu. The actual dates of these Manus have been proved by me in my book "The Astronomical Method, etc." and a long interval of 232 years passed between Raiwata and the

Chākshusha Manu. The intervals between subsequent Manus are almost equally long (see paragraph 394 of my book "The Astro-nomical Methods, etc."). Now the question is "how was a man's position in any of the Vārṇas fixed during these long intervals?" The answer is that there must have already existed or must have been introduced by Raiwata Manu some law or laws that automatically fixed a man in any of the Vārṇas. But that law or laws have not been stated in the "Vāyupurāṇa" or the "Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa". Such laws are stated in recent Smṛiti works. The following passages in the Anuśāsana Parva of the Mahābhārata, will help us in deciding what these laws were:

तिस्रो भार्या ब्राह्मणस्य द्वे भार्ये क्षत्रियस्य तु ।

वैश्यः स्वजात्यां विदेत तास्वपत्यं समं भवेत् ॥ ११ ॥ अ. ४४.

Translation:—A Brāhmaṇa can marry a woman of either of the three Vārṇas, namely, Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya and Vaiśya. A Kshatriya can marry a woman of either of the two Vārṇas, namely, the Kshatriya and the Vaiśya. The Vaiśya can obtain children from a woman of his own Vārṇa. The children of such women are equal (in Vārṇa to the father). I have translated समम् to mean "equal in Vārṇa to the father" because the statement त्रिषु वर्णेषु जातोहि ब्राह्मणाद् ब्राह्मणो भवेत् ॥ १७ ॥ अनुशासनपर्व, अ. ४७ has got the same meaning and also the same meaning is expressed in

ब्राह्मण्यां ब्राह्मणाज्जातो ब्राह्मणः स्यान्न संशयः ।

क्षत्रियायां तथैव स्याद् वैश्यायामपि चैव हि ॥ २८ ॥

कस्मानुविषमं भागं भजेरन् नृपसत्तम ।

यदा सर्वे त्रयोवर्णास्त्वयोक्ता ब्राह्मणा इति ॥ २९ ॥

—अनुशासनपर्व, अ. ४७.

Translation:—There is no doubt that a son procreated from a Brāhmaṇee by Brāhmaṇa is a Brāhmaṇa. So is the son procreated by him from a Kshatriyā and a Vaiśyā. Why should these sons get unequal shares in heritage if as you say all these three Vārṇas are Brāhmaṇas.

भीष्म उवाच ।

कचिच्च कृतकः पुत्रः संग्रहादेव लेक्ष्यत ।

न तत्र रेतः क्षेत्रं वा यत्र लेक्ष्येत भारत ॥ १८ ॥

युधिष्ठिर उवाच ।

कौटुशः कृतकः पुत्रः संग्रहादेव लक्ष्यते ।

शुक्रं क्षेत्रं प्रमाणं वा यत्र लक्ष्यं न भारत ॥ १९ ॥

भीष्म उवाच ।

मातापितृभ्यां यस्त्यक्तः पथि यस्तं प्रकल्पयेत् ।

न चास्य मातापितरौ ज्ञायेतां स हि कृत्रिमः ॥ २० ॥

अस्वामिकस्य स्वामित्वं यस्मिन् संप्रति लक्ष्यते ।

योवर्णः पोषयेत्तं च तद्वर्णस्तस्य जायते ॥ २१ ॥

युधिष्ठिर उवाच ।

कथमस्य प्रयोक्तव्यः संस्कारः कस्य वा कथं ।

देया कन्या कथं चेति तन्मे ब्रूहि पितामह ॥ २२ ॥

भीष्म उवाच ।

आत्मवत्तस्य कुर्वीत संस्कारं स्वामिवत्तथा ।

त्यक्तो मातापितृभ्यां यः सवर्णं प्रतिपद्यते ॥ २३ ॥

तद्गोत्रबन्धुजं तस्य कुर्यात्संस्कारमच्युत ।

अथ देया तु कन्या स्यात्तद्वर्णस्य युधिष्ठिर ॥ २४ ॥

संस्कर्तुर्वर्णगोत्रं च मातृवर्णविनिश्चये ।

कानीनाध्युदजौ वापि विज्ञेयौ पुत्रकिल्बिषौ ॥ २५ ॥

तावपिस्वाविव सुतौ संस्कार्याविति निश्चयः ।

क्षेत्रजोवाप्यपसदो येऽध्युदास्तेषु चाप्युत ॥ २६ ॥

आत्मवद्वै प्रयुंजीरन् संस्कारान् ब्राह्मणादयः ।

धर्मशास्त्रेषु वर्णानां निश्चयोऽयं प्रदृश्यते ॥ २७ ॥

*Translation:—*Bhīṣma said: "At times we find a Kṛitaka (artificial) son, who becomes a son only on account of acceptance as such by the father. There neither the seed nor the womb is seen as the cause of sonship" ॥ 18 ॥ Yudhishtira said: "What like is the Kṛitrima son who gets or attains sonship only on account of acceptance and in whom neither seed nor womb is seen to be the index of sonship?" ॥ 19 ॥ Bhīṣma said: "If a man abandoned by both the father and the mother, while wandering (पथि) is adopted by another as his son (प्रकल्पयेत्), he is a Kṛitrima son if his father and mother are unknown ॥ 20 ॥ The Kṛitrima son gets the Varna of the man in whom at that time (संप्रति) is seen the ownership of the ownerless Kṛitrima son and who nourishes him" ॥ 21 ॥ Yudhishtira said: "Oh Grandfather, tell me how the Upanayana Saṁskāra is to be given to him, whether

as a Brāhmaṇa, or a Kshatriya or a Vaiśya and how (*i.e.*, of what Varna) a girl is to be married to him?" || 22 || Bhishma said: "The Upanayana Saṃskāra of one who being abandoned by his parents gets the same Varna as that of the person who owns or accepts him (सवर्णं प्रतिपद्यते ; सवर्णः = समानो वर्णः) should be performed according to himself, *i.e.*, his own Varna, that is, according to the Varna of his owner (स्वामिवत्) || 23 || The Saṃskāra of the Gotra and relations of the owner (तत् = स्वामि) should be given to him and a girl of the Varna of the owner (तद्वर्ण = स्वामिवर्ण) should be married to him || 24 || Even if the Varna of mother is known (मातृवर्णविनिश्चये) and of course the Varna of his father is not known the Kṛitrīma son gets the Varna and Gotra of the person who performs the संस्कार, *i.e.*, the owner who accepts him. The Kānīna and Adhyūḍha sons are sons of inferior sort (पुत्रकिल्बिषौ) || 25 || But even their संस्कार should be performed as if they were one's own sons. This is the settled law (निश्चयः). Even if the क्षेत्रज and अध्यूढ sons be अपसद's, *i.e.*, produced by men of the lower Varna (अपसदः has been defined in the verses 7 to 11 to be those that are produced by a man of inferior Varna from a woman of higher Varna) || 26 || their Saṃskāras should be performed by Brāhmaṇas and others as if they were their own sons. This decision about Varnas is seen in the Dharma-Śāstras" || 27 ||

It is clear from this passage that a man gets the Varna of the man who owns him and nourishes him. The Kṛitrīma son is only owned by his accepting father and nourished by him. The क्षेत्रज is only owned by the husband of his mother because he is her owner and Kānīna also is owned by his grandfather because he is the owner of his daughter. The Adhyūḍha, *i.e.*, the सहोढ is also only owned by the husband of his mother as he is her owner. In all these cases, the owner of the man is quite different from the procreator, and yet the man gets the Varna of the owner and not the procreator. Subsequent changes in the institution of marriage brought about the identity of the procreator and the owner and the sameness of the Varna of the procreator and mother (we shall see this in the lecture on marriage). In the present law therefore the procreator and mother are of the same Varna and procreator and owner are the same and the son is given the Varna of his procreator. This is a very strict law while that in this passage in the Mahābhārata is very loose. This very loose law must be in force during the long interval between

Raiwata and Chākshusha Manus; for we cannot suppose that the strict present law or a law stricter than the present strict law was then in force and we cannot imagine a law looser than the loose law in the Mahābhārata.

35. There appears to be also another automatically working law by which a man in one Varṇa went to another higher or lower Varṇa. We find in Purāṇas several instances of Kshatriyas having become Brāhmaṇas. They are well known and need not be enumerated. How did they become Brāhmaṇas? The following passage in the "Vāyupurāṇa" gives answer to this question:

ऋषय ऊचुः ।

किं लक्षणेन धर्मेण तपसेह श्रुतेन वा ।

ब्राह्मण्यं समनुप्राप्तं विश्वामित्रादिभिर्नृपैः ॥ १०४ ॥

येन येनाभिधानेन ब्राह्मण्यं क्षत्रियागताः ।

विशेषं ज्ञातुमिच्छामस्तपसा दानतस्तथा ॥ १०५ ॥

एवमुक्तस्ततोवाक्यमब्रवीदिदमर्थवत् ।

अन्यायोपगतैर्द्रव्यैराहूय द्विजसत्तमान् ।

धर्माभिकांक्षी यजते न धर्मफलमश्नुते ॥ १०६ ॥

न्यायागतानां द्रव्याणां तोयैः संप्रतिपादनम् ।

कामाजनभिसंधाय यजते च ददाति च ॥ १११ ॥

स दानफलमाप्नोति तच्च दाने सुखोदयं ॥ ११२ ॥

तपसा तु सुगुप्तेन लोकान् विष्टभ्य तिष्ठति ॥ ११३ ॥

श्रूयते हि तपःसिद्धाः क्षात्रोपेता द्विजातयः ।

विश्वामित्रो नरपतिर्माधाता संस्कृतिः कपिः ॥ ११५ ॥

कपेश्च पुरुकुत्सश्च सत्यश्चानृद्वानृधुः ।

आष्टिषेणोऽजमीढश्च भागान्योऽन्यस्तथैव च ॥ ११६ ॥

कक्षीविश्वैव शिजयः तथान्ये च महारथाः ।

रथीतरश्च रुंदश्च विष्णुवृद्धादयोऽनृपाः ॥ ११७ ॥

क्षात्रोपेताः स्मृताह्येते तपसा ऋषितां गताः ।

एते राजर्षयः सर्वे सिद्धिसुमहतीं गताः ॥ ११८ ॥

—वायुपुराण, अ. ९१.

*Translation:—*Rishis said: By what kind of Dharma—whether by abstinence from sensual pleasures (तपसा) or by learning in the Vedas (श्रुतेन) did Viśvāmitra and other Kshatriyas (नृपैः) attain Brāhmaṇahood ॥ 104 ॥ I want to know that particular thing (विशेषं) by means of which (येन येन) Dharma told in the Śāstras

(अभिधानेन) the Kshatriyas attained Brāhmaṇahood. I want to know whether by gifts or by abstinence from sensual pleasures || 105 || Being asked in this way, he said this sensible (अर्थवत्) sentence. If a man invites Brāhmaṇas and worships with a desire to obtain merit (धर्माभिलाषी) by means of wealth obtained by unjust means, he does not get the fruit of that Dharma. (This implies that he cannot even get Brāhmaṇahood) || 106 || Again if a man obtain wealth by just means and gives it to worthy persons (तीर्थेसंप्रतिपादनं) and if he gives and worships without aiming at the fulfilment of any desires (कामानभिसंधाय), he gets the fruit of the gifts and that gift gives him happiness (only, and not Brāhmaṇahood) || 112 || (This implies that gifts of either kind do not give Brāhmaṇahood). But by well-guarded abstinence from sensual pleasures a man fills the whole world (by his fame) || 113 || We hear that the King Viśwāmitra and other Kshatriyas (क्षात्रोपेताः) attained Brāhmaṇahood (ऋषिताम्) by abstinence from sensual pleasures and accomplished a high objective || 118 ||

Note.—तपस् has been defined as अनशन, i.e., abstinence from sensual pleasures in “Vāyupurāṇa”, Chapter 57, verse 117 in “तपश्चानशनात्मकम्” because अश् means to eat or to enjoy.

This passage shows how a Kshatriya can become a Brāhmaṇa. The following passages give the general law about going to the higher or lower Varṇa:

जात्युत्कर्षो युगे ज्ञेयः पंचमे सप्तमेऽपि वा ।

व्यत्यये कर्मणा साम्यं पूर्ववच्चाधरोत्तरं ॥ ९६ ॥

—याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतिः, आचाराध्याये.

Translation:—“The ascent of a man in Varṇa caused by birth (जाति) from a man of higher Varṇa should be determined (ज्ञेयः) in the fifth or seventh quaternary (of his life). By inversion of duties there arises equality with the higher or lower Varṇa, as before (पूर्ववत्), i.e., in the fifth or seventh quaternary.” This means that if a man is born of a woman of the Śūdra Varṇa (I take this meaning because a man born from a woman of the higher Varṇa, then got the Varṇa of his father as stated in passages quoted hereafter) and a man of a higher Varṇa, his ascent in Varṇa, i.e., his being of his father’s higher Varṇa can be determined in the fifth or seventh quaternary of his life and that if a man does acts of the higher Varṇa, he goes to the higher Varṇa in the fifth or seventh quaternary of

his life and if a man does acts of the lower Varṇa he goes to the lower Varṇa in the fifth or seventh quaternary of his life. The commentators have all misunderstood this passage; because they did not understand what the word युग meant. They took it that युग meant a generation. But “युग” has not got this meaning anywhere else and hence here also. The word युग really means a period of four years or quaternary as shown in my book “The Astronomical Method, etc.” in paragraphs 265-68. The commentators’ meaning is unacceptable. That meaning is that if a man produces sons from a woman of a lower Varṇa, the sons get his Varṇa after five or seven generations, i.e., if a Śūdra woman marries a Brāhmaṇa and gets a daughter and if that daughter is again married to a Brāhmaṇa and gets a daughter and that daughter is again married to a Brāhmaṇa and so on, the daughter of the sixth generation would get a son that would be a Brāhmaṇa and so on. Now this meaning requires three numbers; for the woman may be lower by three, two or one Varṇa. While the verse gives only two numbers the fifth and seventh. Therefore the commentators supply for the third number, either the sixth or the third. This itself shows that the commentators did not get at the real meaning of the verse. In our meaning the words “the fifth or the sixth quaternary” mean that we can determine that a man is of higher or lower Varṇa from 17th to 28th year of his age, i.e., in the 17th year at the least and in the 28th year at the greatest. This meaning is supported by the history in Purāṇas of ascents in Varṇa in the same life and by the following verses

शूद्रायां ब्राह्मणाज्जातः श्रेयसा चेत्प्रजायते ।

अश्रेयान् श्रेयसीं जातिं गच्छत्या सप्तमायुगात् ॥ ६४ ॥

शूद्रे ब्राह्मणतामेति ब्राह्मणश्चेति शूद्रताम् ।

क्षत्रियाज्जातमेवं तु विद्याद्वैश्यात्तथैव च ॥ ६५ ॥—मनुस्मृति अ. १०

Translation:—If a man procreated by a Brāhmaṇa in a Śūdra woman is born with superior actions (श्रेयसा), he goes to superior Varṇa (श्रेयसीं जातिं) though born inferior (अश्रेयान्) from the seventh quaternary of his age ॥ 64 ॥ In the same way, i.e., from the seventh quaternary of his life by exhibiting superior actions a mere Śūdra (i.e., a man both of whose parents are Śūdras) becomes a Brāhmaṇa and a Brāhmaṇa becomes a Śūdra by exhibiting inferior actions. In the same way a man born from a Kshatriya or born from a Vaiśya changes his Varṇa ॥ 65 ॥ An

objection may be raised against our interpretation of these passages that a man was not allowed by law to do acts of the higher Varna, and that therefore he could never exhibit such acts and go to the higher Varna. The objector is mistaken. The law of these days did not prevent acts of higher Varna, it only prevented obtaining means of livelihood by such acts. See "Manu Smṛiti", Chapter 10, verses 95-96. They are as follows:

जीवेदेतेन राजन्यः सर्वेणाप्यनयं गतः ।

न त्वेव ज्यायसीं वृत्तिमभिमन्येत कर्हिचित् ॥ ९५ ॥

योलोभादधमो जाला जीवेदुत्कृष्टकर्मभिः ।

तं राजा निर्धनं कृत्वा क्षिप्रमेव प्रवासयेत् ॥ ९६ ॥

The words "ज्यायसीं वृत्तिं" and "जीवित्" clearly show that law prevented obtaining means of livelihood by acts of higher Varna and that it did not prevent the acts themselves. And it is therefore that we find the statements

अब्राह्मणादध्ययनमापत्काले विधीयते ॥ २४ ॥ मनुस्मृति, अ. २ and
आत्मत्राणे वर्णसंकरे वा ब्राह्मणवंश्यौ शस्त्रमाददीयाताम् ॥ २६ ॥ वासिष्ठस्मृति, अ. ३.
Thus if a man did acts of a higher Varna, merely on account of liking or necessity and not for getting livelihood, he could go to the higher Varna.

Thus in these verses in the "Yājñavalkya Smṛiti" and the "Manu Smṛiti" the general law of change of Varna by actions is stated very clearly. A more obscure statement is found in the following verses in the "Manu Smṛiti":

तपोबीजप्रभावैस्तु ते गच्छन्ति युगे युगे ।

उत्कर्षं चापकर्षं च मनुष्येष्विह जन्मतः ॥ ४२ ॥ अ. १०.

Translation:—In all yugas i.e., ages, men born of mixed and unmixed sexual connections (ते) ascend or descend in Varnas, in this very life (इह) amongst men, from their very birth, by the power (प्रभाव) of the seed or by the power of तपस्.

Here the word तपस् is obscure and misleading. Some understand, it means mortification of flesh (शरीरशोषण). But it must really mean different things when related to different Varnas and that is what the verse

ब्राह्मणस्य तपोज्ञानं तपः क्षत्रस्य रक्षणं ।

वैश्यस्य तु तपोवार्ता तपः शूद्रस्य सेवनम् ॥ २३५ ॥

in 11th Chapter of "Manu Smṛiti" shows. Thus तपस् means acts peculiar to each Varna; and if we take this meaning of

Tapas this verse of Manu renders to us the same meaning as the verse जात्युत्कर्षो, etc., in "Yājñavalkya Smṛiti".

The word जन्मतः also requires explanation. Some object that a man's Varna cannot be changed by तपस् however severe. To this the reply is that the Varna is changed really at birth, i.e., a man gets a Varna different from that of his parents by his very birth and his peculiar formation of the body in the seed and the womb. His तपस् only shows what the Varna is. This naturally takes some time; and the words "पंचमे सप्तमेऽपि वा" in the rule in याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति and "आ सप्तमाद् युगात्" in the rule in मनुस्मृति only mean that it takes 28 years at the greatest and sixteen in the least to know what his Varna is.

We have the following important passage in "Bhāgavata", Skandha 7, Adhyāya 11:

शमोदमस्तपः शौचं संतोषः क्षांतिरार्जवम् ।
 ज्ञानं दयाच्युतात्मत्वं सत्यं च ब्रह्मलक्षणम् ॥ २१ ॥
 शौर्यं वीर्यं धृतिस्तेजः त्याग आत्मजयः क्षमा ।
 ब्रह्मण्यता प्रसादश्च रक्षा च क्षत्रलक्षणम् ॥ २२ ॥
 देवगुर्वच्युते भक्तिस्त्रिवर्गपरिपोषणम् ।
 आस्तिक्यमुद्यमो नित्यं नैपुण्यं वैश्यलक्षणम् ॥ २३ ॥
 शूद्रस्य संनतिः शौचं सेवा स्वामिन्यमायया ।
 अमंत्रयज्ञो ह्यस्तेयं सत्यं गोविप्ररक्षणम् ॥ २४ ॥
 यस्य यल्लक्षणं प्रोक्तं पुंसो वर्णाभिव्यंजकम् ।
 यदन्यत्रापि दृश्येत तत्तेनैव विनिर्दिशेत् ॥ २५ ॥

This passage first describes the acts peculiar to each Varna and says "If the indications (लक्षणं) that are told above as determining a man's Varna (वर्णाभिव्यंजकं), are seen in a man of a different Varna (by birth) he should be named to be of the Varna shown by those indications" ॥ 35 ॥ We have similar passages in the Vanaparva of the Mahābhārata in Chapters 180 and 313.

The "Gautama Smṛiti" gives the same rule as in "Yājñavalkya" in

"वर्णांतरगमनमपकर्षोत्कर्षाभ्यां पंचमेन सप्तमेन वाचार्याः" । सृष्ट्यंतरजातानां च" ।

—अध्याय ४, सूत्र २२-२४.

or it can be said, Gautama being earlier, that Yājñavalkya only follows and repeats (अनुवदति) the rule given by Gautama. The translation of Gautama's rule is this: "A man goes to another Varna by ascent or descent (i.e., by higher acts or lower acts)

by the fifth or the seventh (quaternary). This also applies to persons born of women of different Varṇa (सृष्ट्यन्तर)". The "Āpastamba Dharmasūtra" has the following Sūtras:

धर्मचर्यया जघन्योवर्णः पूर्वं पूर्वं वर्णमापद्यते जातिपरिवृत्तौ ॥ १० ॥

अधर्मचर्यया पूर्वो वर्णो जघन्यं जघन्यं वर्णमापद्यते जातिपरिवृत्तौ ॥ ११ ॥

—प्रश्न. २, कांडिका ११.

The word जातिपरिवृत्तौ may mean "at re-birth" or "at the time of redistribution of Varṇas". The meaning of this passage is therefore obscure and hence I have not taken this passage into account. It does not however state anything that is opposed to the passages previously quoted. All those passages show that "a man goes from the Varṇa of his parents to the Varṇa indicated by his acts after the 28th year of his age. Now the question is who decided that such a change in Varṇa had taken place, whether the man himself, or some public functionary, or any man or men of the higher Varṇa did it? The first alternative would create great confusion and annihilate the system of Varṇas. The second would amount to redistribution of Varṇas by Manu. The third alternative would work automatically and is likely to have been adopted in those ancient times. In this respect the following passage in the "Mahābhārata" is instructive:

अयं ब्रह्मक्षितो राजा वीतहव्यो विसर्ज्यताम् ।

तस्य पुत्रैर्हि मे कृत्स्नो ब्रह्मन् वंशः प्रणाशितः ॥ ५० ॥

अस्येदानीं वधादद्य भविष्याम्यन्वृणः पितुः ।

तमुवाच कृपाविष्टो भृगुर्धर्मभृतांवरः ॥ ५२ ॥

नेहास्ति क्षत्रियः कश्चित् सर्वे हीमे द्विजातयः ।

एतत्तु वचनं श्रुत्वा भृगोस्तथ्यं प्रतर्दनः ॥ ५३ ॥

पदावुपस्पृश्य शनैः प्रहृष्टो वाक्यमब्रवीत् ।

एवमप्यस्मि भगवन् कृतकृत्यो न संशयः ॥ ५४ ॥

य एष राजवीर्येण स्वजार्तिं ल्याजितोमया ।

भृगोर्वचनमात्रेण स च ब्रह्मर्षितां गतः ॥ ५७ ॥

वीतहव्यो महाराज ब्रह्मवादित्वमे व च ।

—अनुशासनपर्व, अ. ३०.

Translation:—(The king वीतहव्य being defeated and chased by king प्रतर्दन went to the Āśrama (hermitage) of Bhṛigu for protection. The passage says what follows:) Pratardana said, "Oh Brāhmaṇa, drive away (विसर्ज्यताम्) वीतहव्य from your

hermitage. His sons have destroyed the whole of my family. By killing him I shall pay the debt I owe to my father." To this, Bhṛigu, the best of Dhārmika (righteous) persons, being merciful said ॥ 52 ॥ "There is no Kshatriyā here; all these are Brāhmaṇas." Hearing these truthful words of Bhṛigu, Pratardana ॥ 53 ॥ being delighted, touched the feet of Bhṛigu and said "In this way also, I have undoubtedly accomplished my object ॥ 54 ॥ for I have by my prowess as a Kshatriya compelled him to abandon his original Varṇa. And Oh Mahārāja, the king Veetahavya went to the Brāhmaṇa Varṇa (ब्रह्मकृषिताम्) and got the right (authority) to teach Vedas (ब्रह्मवादित्वम्) merely by the word of Bhṛigu" ॥ 57 ॥ There is nothing here that shows that this Bhṛigu was a public functionary. Therefore this passage shows that the assent of at least one man of the higher Varṇa was required and was sufficient for the ascent in Varṇa.

The following story of Jābāla shows the same:

सत्यकामो ह जाबालो, जबालां मातरमामंत्रयां चक्रे ब्रह्मचर्यं भवति विवत्स्यामि किं गोत्रो न्वहमस्मीति । सा हैनमुवाच नाहमेतद्वेद तात यद् गोत्रस्त्वमसि, बह्वहं चरंती परिचारिणी यौवने त्वामलभे, साहमेतन्नवेद यद् गोत्रस्त्वमसि, जबाला तु नामाहमस्मि सत्यकामो नाम त्वमसि स सत्यकाम एव जाबालो ब्रुवीथा इति । स ह हारिद्रुमतं गौतममेत्य उवाच ब्रह्मचर्यं भगवति वत्स्यामि, उपेयां भगवंतमिति । तं होवाच किं गोत्रो नु सौम्य असीति, स होवाच नाहमेतद्वेद भो यद् गोत्रोऽहमस्मि अपृच्छं मातरं सा मा प्रत्यब्रवीत् बह्वहं चरंती परिचारिणी यौवने त्वामलभे साहमेतन्नवेद यद् गोत्रस्त्वमसि, जबाला तु नामाहमस्मि सत्यकामो नाम त्वमसीति सोऽहं सत्यकामो जाबालोऽस्मि भो इति । तं हो वाच नैतद्ब्राह्मणो विवक्तुमर्हति, समिधं सोम्य आहर उप त्वा नेष्ये न सत्यादगा इति ।

—छांदोग्योपनिषद्, अ. ४, खं. ४.

Translation:—Satyakāma, the son of Jabālā, said to his mother Jabālā "Oh lady, I shall (wish to) dwell as a Brahmachārī; well then what is my Gotra?" She replied "Oh child, I do not know of what Gotra you are. Copulating (चरंती) much (with many) as an attendant (परिचारिणी) I got you in my youth. I did not therefore know of what Gotra you are. But I am Jabālā by name and you are Satyakāma by name. Therefore declare that you are Jābāla-Satyakāma." He then went to Hārīdrumata Gautama and said "I shall (wish to) dwell with you as a Brahmachārī, so I come to your venerable self as a student." Gautama said "Of what Gotra are you?" Jābāla said "Oh Sir,

I do not know, of what Gotra I am. I asked my mother and she replied that she, copulating with many as an attendant got me in her youth and that therefore she did not know of what Gotra I am. She further added that her name was Jābālā and that I was named Satyakāma. I am thus, Sir, Jābālā-Satyakāma." To him Gautama said "A non-Brāhmaṇa cannot say this. Oh Child, bring a Samid (as a token of your being my pupil). Because you did not deviate from Truth, I shall take you as my pupil."

Here also there is nothing to show that this Gautama was a public functionary. Therefore this passage also shows that the assent of one man of the higher Varṇa was required and was sufficient for the ascent in Varṇa.

Now there is the case of Viśwāmitra. We find it described in the Mahābhārata, Salyaparva, Chapter 40, verses 26-30 and in the Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa, Sarga 65, verses 19-26. The first passage says that Viśwāmitra sought and obtained the assent of Brahmā to his ascent in Varṇa; and second passage says that, though Brahmā declared his ascent in Varṇa, he sought and obtained the assent of Brahmā's son Vaśishtha, to his ascent in Varṇa. Brahmā was a public functionary and his son meant a public functionary appointed by him. These passages therefore mean that Viśwāmitra obtained the assent of public functionaries to his ascent in Varṇa. This cannot, however, nullify the conclusions inferred from the stories of Vitahavya and Jābālā; because those stories show the minimum that was required and was sufficient. Thus we have proved that there was also another automatically working law then in vogue, that determined a man's position in any Varṇa.

36. The first law was very loose. It differs much from the natural law of heredity. The natural law of heredity is that a man generally inherits the capacities of his ancestors (progenitors) but in some exceptional cases he differs from them in his capacities, such differences or variations called spontaneous variations or mutations being also inherited by his descendants. (See passages in English quoted in paragraph 67). The difference between this natural law and the loose artificial law must cause several anomalies. In any one Varṇa there must come into existence several persons fit for the other Varṇas and this must do harm to the society. This needs correction. The

second law being only sporadic and irregular in action as it depended upon the will of individuals, could not make these corrections completely. As a result, the number of persons in any Varna may not have kept pace with the growing needs of the society. It was thus that Chākshusha Manu was appointed and the other Manus were also appointed from time to time, at longer or shorter intervals. It was the function of the Manus and Saptarshis to establish Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas and thus to redistribute the Varnas, a thing that becomes necessary after some time though the automatically working laws be in force. This is clearly stated in the following passage in "Vāyupurāṇa", Chapter 99 (= ब्रह्माण्डपुराण, Pāda 3, Chapter 74):

एतस्यां तु युगाख्यायां यतः क्षत्रं प्रपत्स्यते ।
तथाहि कथयिष्यामि गदतो मे निबोधत ॥ ४३६ ॥
देवापिः पौरवोराजा इक्ष्वाकोश्चैव यो मतः ।
(ऐक्ष्वाकुश्चैवयो मरुः)

महायोगबलोपेतः कलापग्राममास्थितः ॥ ४३७ ॥

(तौ) (तौ)

सुवर्चाः सोमपुत्रस्तु इक्ष्वाकोस्तु भविष्यति ।
एतौ क्षत्रप्रणेतारौ चतुर्विंशे चतुर्युगे ॥ ४३८ ॥
नवविंशे युगे सोऽथ वंशस्यादिर्भविष्यति ।
देवापिरसप्तस्तु ऐलादिर्भविता नृपः ॥ ४३९ ॥
(देवापेश्च सप्तौलस्तु)

क्षत्रप्रवर्तकौ ह्येतौ भविष्येते चतुर्युगे ।
एवं सर्वत्र विज्ञेयं संतानार्थं तु लक्षणम् ॥ ४४० ॥
क्षीणे कलियुगे तस्मिन् भविष्ये तु कृते युगे ।
सप्तर्षिभिस्तु तैः सार्धं आद्य त्रेतायुगे पुनः ॥ ४४१ ॥
गोत्राणां क्षत्रियाणां च भविष्येते प्रवर्तकौ ।
द्वापरांशे न तिष्ठन्ति क्षत्रिया ऋषिभिः सह ॥ ४४२ ॥
काले कृतयुगे चैव क्षीणे त्रेतायुगे पुनः ।
(भविष्ये तु ततः सगैः काले कृतयुगे पुनः)
बीजार्थं ते भविष्यन्ति ब्रह्मक्षत्रस्य वै पुनः ॥ ४४३ ॥
एवमेव तु सर्वेषु तिष्ठन्तीहांतरेषु वै ।
सप्तर्षयो नृपैः सार्धं संतानार्थं युगेयुगे ॥ ४४४ ॥

The last Pāda of verse 441 and the second of verse 442 are interchanged for the purpose of translation, as otherwise no good meaning can be got.

Translation:—Listen, I shall tell you, how the Kshatriya will come into existence in this period named युग ॥ 436 ॥ Dewāpi, the king of the line of Puru, who is thought by some to be of the line of इक्ष्वाकु, residing in the city named कलाप and possessing great authority as a public functionary (महायोगबलोपेतः) ॥ 437 ॥ and Suvarchas the son of Soma of the line of इक्ष्वाकु, these two will be the creators of Kshatriyas in the 24th quaternary ॥ 438 ॥ and the 29th (39th, if we adopt the reading नवत्रिंशे for reasons given in the Note) quaternary respectively. Dewāpi of the line of Aila who will have no enemy (असपत्न) will be the founder of a dynasty ॥ 439 ॥ These two shall be the creators of the Kshatriyas in the quaternary at the end of Kali (चतुर्युगे क्षीणे कलियुगे) and the future Kṛita Yuga respectively. It should be noted that this happens in all ages for the sake of continuity (संतानार्थे). With their respective Saptarshis, they shall be the creators ॥ 441 ॥ of Kshatriyas and Gotras (*i.e.*, Brāhmaṇas). The Kshatriyas and Rishis (*i.e.*, Brāhmaṇas) do not exist (cease to exist) in the first Tretā Yuga (this corresponds to the age of Swāyambhuva Manu) and in the interim of Dwāpara (द्वापरांशे) (this corresponds to 680 Kalpa Era, the date of the Chākshusha Manu; for then the interim between Tretā and Dwāpara extending from 670 to 720 Kalpa Era was going on) ॥ 442 ॥ and in the Treta Yuga after the Kṛita had ended (this corresponds to the 8th Sāwarni Manu during whose period Bali was the Indra) and thence they, *i.e.*, the Manus and Saptarshis, will again come into being for the sake of the origin of the Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas in the next creation (भविष्ये सर्गे) (This means the 2nd द्वादशवार्षिक सत्र performed at the end of 2000 Kalpa Era. It is called सर्ग because the प्रजापति or year produced a new system of consellations at the end of each 1,000 years.) and again in the Kṛita Yuga. (The line भविष्येत् ततः सर्गे, etc., found in ब्रह्माण्डपुराण appears to have been omitted in “Vāyupurāṇa”) ॥ 443 ॥ In this way, in all periods (सर्वेषु अंतरेषु) the Saptarshis with kings (Manus) stand in all ages for the sake of continuity ॥ 444 ॥ This passage gives in a nutshell the history of the Varnas. It refers to three previous (past) occasions आद्ये त्रेतायुगे, द्वापरांशे, and काले कृतयुगे क्षीणे त्रेतायुगे corresponding to Swāyambhuva, Chākshusha and Sāwarni Manus and two

future occasions (when देवापि and सुवर्चा were Manus) of creating Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas by Saptarshis and Manus (The author is speaking in the second द्वादशवार्षिकसत्र).

Note.—The date of Dewāpi is given as the 24th quaternary of the Kali, i.e., 1992-96 Kalpa Era and the date of Suvarchas is given as the 29th quaternary of the future Kṛita Yuga, i.e., 2112-16 Kalpa Era. Dewāpi is said to belong either to the line of the Purus or to the line of the Ikshwākus. It is well-known that Dewāpi of the Puru line preceded the Pāṇḍavas and lived in the Dwāpara Yuga. Therefore Dewāpi who became a Manu must be another one and he can be identified with Divākara or Divāka in the line of Bṛihadbala if we take into consideration the curious changes in the names given in the Purāṇas. In the same way we can identify Suvarchas with Supraṇa (also named Sutapas in some Purāṇas) the son of Āntariksha which can be equivalent of Soma the moon Āntariksha meaning "one in the sky". But to make Suvarchas synchronize with Śuchi the Indra in the last Manvantara as stated in भागवत, Skandha 8, Chapter 13; verse 34, we have to take the reading नवत्रिंशे in place of नवविंशे which can be a misreading of it; for, Śuchi, is a king of the Bārhadhratha line of the Magadha and ruled in the Magadha from 2130 to 2159 Kalpa Era (see paragraph 413 of my book "The Astronomical Method, etc."). Thus the date of Suparṇa is proved to be Kalpa Era 2152, i.e., 950 B.C.

37. I have proved and described above the main features of the system of Varnas devised by Ānanda Brahmā and revived by Swāyambhuva Manu and probably modified by Raiwata Manu by the introduction of automatic laws for the determination of the Varṇa of newborn persons. They are as follows:

(1) The new born persons got the Varṇa of their owner. It should be noted that though ideas of chastity had not then arisen, a wife could co-habit only with persons of the same Varṇa as her husband as shown by the verse

अनावृता हि सर्वेषां वर्णानामंगना भुवि ।

यथा गावः स्थितास्तात स्वे स्वे वर्णे तथा प्रजाः ॥ १५ ॥

in the story of श्वेतकेतु discussed in my lecture on Marriage, and hence her issues were even by nature generally of the same Varṇa as her husband, i.e., their owner.

(2) A person went from the Varṇa which he got by the first law to another Varṇa and if he exhibited the qualities of that another Varṇa and if this change of Varṇa was assented to by a man of that another Varṇa.

(3) Manus and Saptarshis redivided the Varnas and put men of one Varṇa into another.

LECTURE IV

THE VARNAS (Contd.)

38. The system described in the previous lecture appears to have been in full force during the first millennium of the Vārāha Kalpa, i.e., from B.C. 3102 to B.C. 2102. About the end of this period two new factors came into operation, namely (1) the ideas of woman's chastity, and (2) the ideas of the superiority or inferiority of the Varnas, and they began to modify the system described above.

Note.—Pandit R. Śamaśastree in his short essay on "Evolution of Castes" advocates the view that the influence of Buddhism brought about the evolution of castes. I don't agree with him as his view does not explain all the changes brought about.

The story of Śwetaketu described and discussed in my lecture on Marriage shows that ideas of chastity arose about 1000 Kalpa Era or B.C. 2102. The story of King Yayāti described in "Vāyupurāṇa" Chapter 93 and in the Mahābhārata, Ādiparva, Chapter 122 says that he married Devayāni the daughter of उशनस or शुक्र a Brāhmaṇa and got two sons from her यदु and तुर्वसु. Yadu and the descendants of Yadu the most famous amongst whom is Śrī Kṛishna, were always regarded as Kshatriyas and were kings (see वायुपुराण, Chapters 94 and 95). This shows that the ideas of superiority or inferiority of Varnas had not then modified the system of the Varnas. (The date of Yayāti is about 1088 Kalpa Era. See paragraphs 396 and 398 of my book "The Astronomical Methods, etc.")

39. As a result of the idea of chastity, the Kānīna and the Sahoḍha (सहोद) sons whose Varṇa is always in doubt became rare and as a result the procreator and the owner became identical. Accordingly we find the law being correspondingly modified. This modified law is that a man gets the Varṇa of his procreator. This law is enunciated in Chapters 44 and 47 of अनुशासनपर्व in the following verses:

तिस्रो भार्या ब्राह्मणस्य द्वे भार्ये क्षत्रियस्य तु ।

वैश्यः स्वजात्यां विदेत तास्वपत्यं समं भवेत् ॥ ११ ॥ अ. ४४.

Translation.—A Brāhmaṇa can marry either a Brāhmaṇee, a Kshatriyā or a Vaiśyā; his offsprings from all of them are

equal, *i.e.*, Brāhmaṇa in Varṇa. A Kshatriya can marry a Kshatriyā or a Vaiśyā ; his offsprings from them are equal, *i.e.*, of the Kshatriya Varṇa. A Vaiśya can procreate offsprings of his own Varṇa from a woman of his own Varṇa.

त्रिषु वर्णेषु जातो हि ब्राह्मणाद् ब्राह्मणो भवेत् ॥ १७ ॥

—अनुशासनपर्व, अं. ४७.

Translation:—The offsprings of a Brāhmaṇa from a woman of any of three Varṇas (namely, Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya and Vaiśya) is a Brāhmaṇa.

ब्राह्मण्यां ब्राह्मणाजातः ब्राह्मणः स्यान्नसंशयः ।

क्षत्रियायां तथैव स्यात् वैश्यायामपि चैव हि ॥ २८ ॥

कस्मात्तु विषमं भागं भजेरन् नृपसत्तम ।

यदा सर्वे त्रयो वर्णास्त्वयोक्ता ब्राह्मणा इति ॥ २९ ॥

—अनुशासनपर्व, अं. ४७.

Translation:—A son of a Brāhmaṇa from a Brāhmaṇī is a Brāhmaṇa. A son of a Brāhmaṇa from a Kshatriya is also a Brāhmaṇa and a son of a Brāhmaṇa from a Vaiśyā is also a Brāhmaṇa. Why should these sons of a Brāhmaṇa from wives of different Varṇas get unequal shares in inheritance, if as you say all these three Varṇas, *i.e.*, the Varṇas of all these three sons are Brāhmaṇa. Thus the law now became that a son got the Varṇa of the procreator. It may be said against this law that it does not agree with the natural law and that it is wrong to hold that the son of a Brāhmaṇa from a Kshatriyā or a Vaiśyā is also a Brāhmaṇa. The reply is this: The law at that time enjoined a man to marry a woman similar and suitable to him as stated in

गृहस्थः.....सदृशीं भार्यां विंदेत ।

by वसिष्ठ in Chapter 8. The word used by वसिष्ठ is सदृशी and not सवर्णा. By natural inclination also a man marries a woman that is similar to him. The law therefore presumed that the woman married by a man was similar to him, *i.e.*, really of the same Varṇa as himself though she may be born of parents of a different Varṇa. Therefore by that law the offspring got the Varṇa of its procreator or father. Thus even the offsprings of apparently mixed marriages were of the four Varṇas and there were no intermediate Varṇas or अंतराल Varṇas as they came to be named afterwards.

This is stated clearly in

अब्राह्मणंतु मन्यंते शूद्रापुत्रमनैपुणात् ।

त्रिषु वर्णेषु जातोहि ब्राह्मणाद् ब्राह्मणो भवेत् ॥ १७ ॥

स्मृताश्च वर्णाश्चत्वारो पंचमोनाधिगम्यते ।

—अनुशासनपर्व, अ. ४७.

Translation:—A son of a Brāhmaṇa from a Śūdra is considered a non-Brāhmaṇa, *i.e.*, a Śūdra because of his incapacity. The offspring of a Brāhmaṇa from a woman of any of the three Varṇas, namely, Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya and Vaiśya, is a Brāhmaṇa, because there are only four Varṇas and there is no fifth or intermediate Varṇa.

This was the condition of the law about Varṇas, before the superiority or inferiority of the Varṇas came to be regarded as inflexible. This condition is named पितृसावर्ण्य and is I think an ideal condition of society ; because in that system (i) a man generally would marry a woman who is really of his own Varṇa though perhaps of a different Varṇa by birth and get from her a son of his own Varṇa ; (ii) it is more easy and convenient for a man to educate his sons for the duties of his own Varṇa than for the duties of another Varṇa ; (iii) if in spite of such education he exhibited qualities of another Varṇa, he would be put in that another Varṇa by the automatic law or by the Manu and the Saptarshis ; and (iv) occasional intermarriages between the Varṇas would keep up the idea of the unity of the society though divided into Varṇas and prevent separatist tendencies between the Varṇas.

40. But in course of time the rationale underlying the ideas about the superiority or inferiority of the Varṇas was forgotten and thereby the system of the Varṇas underwent further modifications. Two stages of this modification are seen, first, in which both the procreator and the mother determined the Varṇa of the offsprings and second when the offsprings got really the Varṇa of their mothers but were given new names called intermediate Varṇas. In both these stages, marriage with a woman of a higher Varṇa was named प्रतिलोम and was prohibited and the offspring of such connection was regarded as unlawful and an outcast or a Śūdra of a bad type. I shall now describe both the stages.

41. The first stage is fully described in Chapter 48 of the अनुशासनपर्व and in “Manu Smṛiti”, Chapter 10. Chapter 48

of the अनुशासनपर्व differing as it does from Chapters 44 and 47 of the same must be regarded as an interpolation. However it graphically describes this stage and is an authority for determining its features. It says:

भार्याश्चतस्रो विप्रस्य द्वयोरात्मा प्रजायते ।
 आनुपूर्व्याद् द्वयोर्हानौ मातृजालौ प्रसूयतः ॥ ४ ॥
 तिस्रः क्षत्रियसंबन्धात् द्वयोरात्मास्य जायते ।
 हीनवर्णास्तृतीयायां शूद्रा उग्रा इति स्मृतिः ॥ ७ ॥
 द्वे चापि भार्ये वैश्यस्य द्वयोरात्मास्य जायते ।
 शूद्रा शूद्रस्यचाप्येका शूद्रमेव प्रजायते ॥ ८ ॥

Translation:—A Brāhmaṇa can marry four women, namely, a Brāhmaṇī, a Kshatriyā, a Vaiśyā or a Śūdrā. From the first two (आनुपूर्व्यात् द्वयोः) his soul, i.e., a Brāhmaṇa is born. From the other two is born a son of the lower Varṇa, i.e., of the mother's Varṇa ॥ 4 ॥ Of the three women whom a Kshatriya can marry the first two give birth to his soul, i.e., a Kshatriya; from the third, i.e., Śūdrā are born men of lower Varṇa named Śūdra also named Ugra ॥ 7 ॥ A Vaiśya can marry two women and from both of them his soul, i.e., a Vaiśya is born. A Śūdra can marry only one woman, i.e., the Śūdrā and she gives birth to a Śūdra only ॥ 8 ॥

About the progeny of the Pratiloma connections, the Chapter of the अनुशासनपर्व says:

विप्रायां क्षत्रियोबाह्यं सूतं स्तोमक्रियापरम् ।
 वैश्यो वैदहकं चापि मौद्गल्यमपवर्जितम् ॥ १० ॥
 शूद्रश्चांडालमस्युग्रं वध्यं बाह्यवासिनम् ।
 ब्राह्मण्यां संप्रजायते इत्येते कुलपांसनाः ॥ ११ ॥
 बंदी तु जायते वैश्यान्मागधो वाक्यजीवनः ।
 शूद्राक्षिपादोमत्स्यः क्षत्रियायां व्यतिक्रमात् ॥ १२ ॥
 शूद्राद्रायोगवश्चापि वैश्यायां ग्राम्यधर्मिणः ।
 ब्राह्मणैरप्रतिग्राह्यः तक्षा ख(श्च)धन जीवनः ॥ १३ ॥

Translation:—A Brāhmaṇī produces from a Kshatriya, Sūta who is outside the four Varṇas (बाह्यं) and whose duty it is to write works for praising kings (स्तोमक्रियापरम्). A Vaiśya produces from a Brāhmaṇī a Vaidehaka, who is outside the four Varṇas (अपवर्जितम्) and whose work it is to attend upon women (मौद्गल्यं) ॥ 10 ॥ A Śūdra produces from a Brāhmaṇī a Chāṇḍāla who is very fierce, who kills men awarded with capital punishment

and who have to dwell outside the towns. Thus these that disgrace the family (कुलपांसनाः) are born of a Brāhmaṇī || 11 ||

On account of the transgressing of the law (व्यतिक्रमात्), i.e., by connection with a man of the lower Varṇa, from a Kshatriya is born by connection with a Vaiśya, a Māgadha, i.e., a bard who lives by praising (वाक्यजीवनः) and by connection with a Śūdra, a Nishāda, who kills fish || 12 || A Vaiśyā by connection with a Śūdra (ग्राम्यधर्मिणः) gives birth to an आयोगव who should never be accepted by the Brāhmaṇas as an attendant (अप्रतिग्राह्यः) who is a carpenter and lives upon wealth in the form of dogs (I think the correct reading is श्वधन and not स्वधन because the latter reading has no meaning) || 13 ||

The statements of these two passages are embodied in the following table, for easy comprehension:

MOTHER→ FATHER ↓	ब्राह्मणी	क्षत्रिया	वैश्या	शूद्रा
ब्राह्मण ..	ब्राह्मण	ब्राह्मण	वैश्य	शूद्र
क्षत्रिय ..	१ सूत	क्षत्रिय	क्षत्रिय	शूद्र or उग्र
वैश्य ..	४ वैदेहक	२ मागध	वैश्य	वैश्य
शूद्र ..	६ चांडाल	५ निषाद	३ आयोगव	शूद्र

The order of the प्रतिलोम progeny is shown by the numbers given in this table. The first is the highest and sixth the lowest of them. Two principles have determined their order. (1) The higher the father, the higher the progeny; and (2) the greater the distance in respect of the Varṇa between father and mother the lower the progeny. This is the order taken for granted in the following passage in the Mahābhārata in verses 19 to 28.

This प्रतिलोम progeny also produces fifteen new Varṇas in the same way as the four original Varṇas do. This is shown in the following table:

MOTHER → FATHER ↓	सूता	मागधी	आयोगवी	वैदेही	निषादी	चांडाली
सूत ..	सूत	सूत	आयोगव	वैदेह	निषाद	चांडाल
मागध ..	१ सैरंध्रघ	मागध	मागध	वैदेह	निषाद	चांडाल
आयोगव ..	६ मैरेयक	२ सौगंधम्	आयोगव	आयोगव	निषाद	चांडाल
वैदेह ..	१० माधुक	७ कूर	३ अध्रः	वैदेह	वैदेह	चांडाल
निषाद ..	१२ मङ्गरं	११ भद्रनाभ	८ कारावरः	४ आहिङ्क	निषाद	निषाद
चांडाल ..	१५ सूतप or श्वपाक	१४ पुल्कसं	१२ पांडुसौपाकः	९ सौपाकः	५ अंतेवसायी	चांडाल

This table is prepared to show the meaning of the following verses in Chapter 48 of the अनुशासनपर्व :

एतेऽपि सदृशान् वर्णान् जनयन्ति स्वयोनिषु ।
मातृजात्याः प्रसूयन्ते ह्यवरा हीनयोनिषु ॥ १४ ॥
यथा चतुर्षु वर्णेषु द्वयोरात्मस्य जायते ।
आनंतर्यात्प्रजायते तथा बाह्याः प्रधानतः ॥ १५ ॥
ते चापि सदृशं वर्णं जनयन्ति स्वयोनिषु ।
परस्परस्य दारेषु जनयन्ति विगर्हितान् ॥ १६ ॥
यथा शूद्रोऽपि ब्राह्मण्यां जंतुं बाह्यं प्रसूयते ।
एवं बाह्यतराद् बाह्यः चातुर्वर्ण्यात्प्रजायते ॥ १७ ॥
प्रतिलोमं तु वर्धते बाह्याद् बाह्यतराः पुनः ।
हीनास्त्रीनाः प्रसूयन्ते वर्णाः पंचदशैव तु ॥ १८ ॥
अगम्यागमनाच्चैव जायते वर्णसंकरः ।
ब्राह्मणानामनुजायन्ते सैरंध्रघां(ध्रषा) मागधेषु(न) च ।
प्रसाधनोपचारज्ञं अदासं दासजीवनम् ॥ १९ ॥
अतश्चायोगवं(वः) सूते वागुराबंधजीवनम् ।
मैरेयकं च वैदेहः संप्रसूतेथ माधुकम् ॥ २० ॥

निषादो मद्गुरं सूते दासं नावोपजीविनम् ।
 मृतपं चापि चांडालः श्वपाकमिति विश्रुतम् ॥ २१ ॥
 चतुरो मागधी सूते क्रूरान्मायोपजीविनः ।
 मांसं स्वादुकरं क्षौद्रं सौगंधमिति विश्रुतम् ॥ २२ ॥
 वैदेहकाश्च पापिष्ठा कूरं मायोपजीविनम् ।
 निषादाद्भद्रनाभं च खरयानप्रयायिनम् ॥ २३ ॥
 चांडालात्पुल्कसं चापि खराश्वगजभोजिनम् ।
 मृतचैलप्रतिच्छन्नं भिन्नभाजनभोजिनम् ॥ २४ ॥
 आयोगवीषु जायंते हीनवर्णास्तु ते त्रयः ।
 क्षुद्रो वैदेहकादंघ्रो बहिर्ग्रामप्रतिश्रयः ॥ २५ ॥
 कारावरो निषाद्यां (दात्) तु चर्मकारः प्रसूयते ।
 चांडालात्पांडुसौपाकः त्वक्सारव्यवहारवान् ॥ २६ ॥
 जाहिङ्को निषादेन वैदेह्यां संप्रसूयते ।
 चांडालेन तु सौपाकः चांडालसमवृत्तिमान् । २७ ॥
 निषादी चापि चांडालात्पुत्रमंतवसायिनम् ।
 श्मशानगोचरं सूतं बाह्यैरपि बहिष्कृतम् ॥ २८ ॥

*Translation:—*The six Pratiloma Varnas also produce similar Varnas, i.e., their own Varnas from women of their own Varna (स्वयोनिषु). And from women of lower Varna (हीनयोनिषु) they produce progeny of the lower Varna (अवराः), i.e., of the mother's Varna (मातृजात्याः) ॥ 14 ॥ But from a woman of a Varna next to their own (अनंतर्यात्) they produce progeny of the Bāhya or outcast Varna corresponding to the Pradhāna (प्रधानतः), i.e., the chief of the family, i.e., the husband, as in the case of the principal four Varnas (चतुर्षु वर्णेषु) a man produces his own soul (progeny of his own Varna) from women of the two Varnas, i.e., from his own Varna and of the next Varna ॥ 15 ॥ They also produce similar Varna, i.e., their own Varna from women of their own Varna and produce censured progeny from women of higher and higher Varnas (परस्परस्य दारेषु; परं = higher) ॥ 16 ॥ As a Śūdra produces from a woman of the Brāhmaṇa Varna, progeny of the Bāhya Varna, in the same way an outcast (बाह्यतरः) greater than an outcast (बाह्यात्) from the four Varnas (the correct reading should be बाह्यतरो बाह्यात् and not बाह्यतरात् बाह्यः as we find in the books) is produced ॥ 17 ॥ Thus by Pratiloma connections (प्रतिलोमं) outcasts greater than original outcasts (बाह्यात् बाह्यतराः) increase again and thus fifteen lowest (हीनाः) Varnas are produced from the

original lower Varnas || 18 || Because Varnasaṅkara (*i.e.*, degeneration of the system of Varnas) is brought about by connection with women, connection with whom is not allowed by law (अगम्य). Just next to the outcasts (बाह्यानाम् अनु) are produced Sairandhryas (सैरंध्याः) by men of Māgadha Varṇa (from women of Sūta Varṇa) (The correct readings adopted by me are given in brackets). They know how to help in toilet (प्रसाधनोपचारज्ञं). They live by serving (दामजीवनम्) and they keep no servants for themselves (अदासम्) || 19 || From a woman of the same Varṇa, *i.e.*, the Sūta Varṇa (अतः) a man of the Āyogava Varṇa produces a Maireyaka who lives by stretching the nets (वागुराबंधजीवनम्) and a man of the Vaidehaka Varṇa produces a Mādhuka || 20 || and a man of the Nishāda Varṇa produces, a Madgura who serves and lives by plying boats, and a man of the Chāṇḍala Varṇa produces a Mṛitapa otherwise famous as a Śwapaka || 21 || A woman of the Māgadha Varṇa produces four ferocious Varnas who live by deceit (मायोपजीविनः). The first by connection with a man of the Āyogava Varṇa is that known as Sougandha, who being very low (क्षौद्रं) gives good flavour to the flesh (मांसस्वादुकरम्) (The correct reading should be मांसस्वादुकरं; the reading in books that is मांसस्वादुकरं is clearly wrong) || 22 || and from a man of the Videha Varṇa, the sinful (पापिष्ठा) woman of the Māgadha Varṇa produces a Krūra who lives by deceit; and from a man of the Nishāda Varṇa, she produces a Bhadrānābha who drives in a vehicle of asses || 23 || and from a Chāṇḍala she produces a Pulkasa who eats asses, horses and elephants, who wears the clothes of corpses and who eats in broken utensils || 24 || A woman of the Āyogava Varṇa produces three lowest Varnas, (1) from Vaidehaka the mean Andhra who lives outside the town, (2) from Nishāda, a Kārāwara who is a tanner (चर्मकारः), and (3) from a Chāṇḍala, a Pāṇḍusoupāka who deals in the essence of barks || 25-26 || A man of the Nishāda Varṇa produces from a woman of the Videha Varṇa, an Āhiṇḍaka, and a man of the Chāṇḍala Varṇa produces a Soupaka whose means of livelihood are the same as that of a Chāṇḍala || 27 || A woman of the Nishāda Varṇa produces from a man of the Chāṇḍala Varṇa a son named Antewasāyee who is seen in cemeteries only (श्मशानगोचरं) and is cast out even by the outcasts || 28 ||

This same system has been copied though incorrectly in Chapter 10 of the "Manu Smṛiti" (Students should note that

the fourteenth verse in that Chapter “पुत्रायेऽन्तरङ्गी, etc.” is an interpolation being in conflict with the 28th verse “यथात्रयाणां वर्णानाम्, etc.” and also with the 6th which must be construed as being in agreement with the 28th). The “Manu Smṛiti” at times even quotes sentence from the 48th Chapter of the Anuśāsana-parva. The same system is also described in Chapters 8 and 9 of the first Praśna of Baudhāyaṇa.

It may be objected that all this description is only academical, theoretical and imaginary and had no correspondence with reality and that it was invented to explain the origin of already existing different tribes. The objector can urge that such a large population cannot arise out of what was then regarded as transgression of the law and that a Śūdra could not offer to the women of the higher Varnas by way of temptation anything like beauty, wealth or power or position. There is much force in the argument of the objector, but I think that everything in this description is not imaginary and that something that was real provoked imagination with respect to other things. The three higher Varnas were very much like each other. They were of the same Āryan stock, and the study of the Vedas and the performance of the Yajñas were common to them. They were also intimately connected with each other by what they called Anuloma marriages. The Vaiśya could also offer by way of temptation his wealth to women of higher Varnas and the Kshatriya could offer his power. Under these circumstances, it is very likely that the Pratiloma Varnas named Sūta, Māgadha and Vaidehaka came into existence, though the other Pratiloma Varnas could not have come into existence and were only identified by imagination with the already existing tribes or races living lives repugnant to the higher Varnas.

Of those three the Sūta occupied a very honourable position in society and though he could not study the Vedas, he was entrusted with the duty of preserving the Purāṇas and was consequently a man of learning and must therefore have been born of parents of higher Varnas. All this is borne out by the following passage in the “Vāyupurāṇa”, Chapter 1:

अधिसीमकृष्णे विक्रान्ते राजन्येऽनुपमत्विषि ।

प्रशासतीमां धर्मेण भूमिं भूमिपसत्तमे ॥ १२ ॥

ऋषयः संशितात्मानाः ॥ १३ ॥

धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे दीर्घसत्रं तु ईजिरे.... ॥ १४ ॥

द्रष्टुं तान् स महाबुद्धिः सूतः पौराणिकोत्तमः ॥ १५ ॥
 स तान्न्यायेन सुधियः न्यायविन्मुनिपुंगवान् ।
 अभिगम्योपसंसृत्य नमस्कृत्य कृताञ्जलिः ॥ २० ॥
 तोषयामास मेधावी प्रणिपातेन तानृषीन् ।
 ते चापि सत्रिणः प्रीताः ससदस्या महौजसः ॥ २१ ॥
 तस्मै साम च पूजां च यथावत्प्रतिपदिरे . . . ॥ २२ ॥
 तस्मिन्सत्रे गृहपतिः सर्वशास्त्रविशारदः ॥ २३ ॥
 इंगितैर्भावमालक्ष्य तेषां सूतमचोदयत् . . . ॥ २४ ॥

सूत उवाच ।

पूतोऽस्म्यनुगृहीतोऽस्मि भवद्भिरभिनोदितः ।
 पुराणार्थं पुराणज्ञैः सत्यव्रतपरायणैः ॥ ३० ॥
 स्वधर्मं एव सूतस्य सङ्निर्दष्टः पुरातनैः ।
 देवतानामृषीणाम् च राज्ञां चामिततेजसाम् ॥ ३१ ॥
 वंशानां धारणं कार्यं श्रुतानां च महात्मनाम् ।
 इतिहासपुराणेषु दिष्टा ये ब्रह्मवादिभिः ॥ ३२ ॥
 न हि वेदेष्वधीकारः कश्चित्सूतस्य दृश्यते . . . ॥ ३३ ॥
 मध्यमो ह्येष सूतस्य धर्मः क्षत्रोपजीवनम् ।
 रथनागाश्वचरितं जघन्यं च चिकित्सितम् ॥ ३४ ॥
 तत्स्वधर्ममहं पृष्ठः भवद्भिर्ब्रह्मवादिभिः ।
 कस्मात्सम्यङ्न विदूयां पुराणमृषिपूजितम् ॥ ३९ ॥

*Translation:—*When the valorous greatest king Adhiseema Krishna of unmatched spirit was ruling the Earth according to Law, the Rishis of sharp intelligence (संशितात्मनः) were performing a long sacrifice in the holy place (वर्मक्षेत्रे) named Kurukshetra ॥ 12-14 ॥ The best amongst the Pourāṇikas, Sūta by Varṇa went to see them ॥ 15 ॥ He who had correct knowledge of his duty (न्यायविद्) propitiated the great and intelligent sages by his dutiful acts (न्यायेन), i.e., by approaching them, by falling to the ground (उपसंसृत्य) and by bowing down to them with folded hands. Those sages also engaged in the Satra, with other members of the assembly (ससदस्याः) being pleased, worshipped him and spoke sweet words to him (साम) ॥ 22 ॥ Then the chief householder (गृहपतिः) of that Satra well-versed in all sciences, having seen by indications what

the members of that assembly meant, requested the Sūta (to recite the Purāṇa). The Sūta then said "Being requested to recite the Purāṇa by you who know the Purāṇa and who strictly follow the rule of truth, I am purified and favoured || 30 || This is the highest duty of a Sūta, enjoined by ancient sages to keep a record (धारणं कार्यं) of the lines (वंशानां) of Devas, Rishis, valorous kings, and of famous great men, i.e., those that are described in Purāṇas and Itihāsas by Brahma-vādins || 32 || But a Sūta is not entitled to study the Vedas || 33 || The duty of a Sūta, next in order (मध्यम) is the life of a Kshatriya, and managing chariots, elephants and horses; and his duty last in order is medicine || 38 || Why then should I not recite the Purāṇa, respected by the sages, when you Brahma-vādins have asked me to do that which is my duty of the first order || 39 ||

Though much of the description of outcast Varnas was theoretical, academical and imaginary, it had great influence upon the lives of persons urging them to avoid or to prevent Pratiloma connections.

42. I shall now describe the second stage. The change produced by the ideas of superiority or inferiority of Varnas did not stop at the first stage; it proceeded further and brought about the second stage. This is described in याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति, Chapter 1, verses 90-96, in "Agnipurāṇa", Chapter 5, and in "Vishṇu Smṛiti", Chapter 6, and also in verse 14 of Chapter 10 of the "Manu Smṛiti". I shall quote from याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति. It says:

सवर्णेभ्यः सवर्णासु जायन्ते हि सजातयः ।

अनिद्येषु विवाहेषु पुत्राः संतानवर्धनाः ॥ ९० ॥

विप्रान्मूर्धावसिक्तोहि क्षत्रियायां विशः स्त्रियाम् ।

अंबष्टः शूद्रयां निषादः जातः पारशवोऽपिवा ॥ ९१ ॥

वैश्याशूद्रोस्तु राजन्यान्माहिष्योग्रौ सुतोऽस्मृतौ ।

वैश्यात्पुत्रकरणः शूद्रां विन्नास्त्रेष विधिः स्मृतः ॥ ९२ ॥

ब्राह्मण्यां क्षत्रियात्सूतो वैश्याद्वैदेहकस्तथा ।

शूद्राजातस्तु चांडालः सर्वधर्मबहिष्कृतः ॥ ९३ ॥

क्षत्रिया मागधं वैश्यात् शूद्रात्क्षत्तारमेव च ।

शूद्रादायोगवं वैश्या जनयामास वै सुतम् ॥ ९४ ॥

असत्संतस्तु विज्ञेयाः प्रतिलोमानुलोमजाः ॥ ९५ ॥

The meaning of this is expressed by the following table :

MOTHER → FATHER ↓		ब्राह्मणा	क्षत्रिया	वैश्य	शूद्र
ब्राह्मण	..	ब्राह्मण	मूर्धावसिक्त	अंबष्ट	निषाद or पारशव
क्षत्रिय	..	सूत	क्षत्रिय	माहिष्य	उग्र
वैश्य	..	वैदेहक	मागध	वैश्य	करण
शूद्र	..	चांडाल	क्षत्ता	अयोगव	शूद्र

The passage also says in verse 95 that the sons of the Anuloma connections are good, *i.e.*, deserve Upanayana ceremony and that sons of Pratiloma connections are bad, *i.e.*, they do not deserve Upanayana ceremony. But Yājñavalkya does not say clearly whether a son of the Anuloma connections deserves the Upanayana ceremony of the Varṇa of the father or of the mother. He must be understood to mean that the son gets the Varṇa of the mother and deserves the Upanayana of the Varṇa of the mother ; because he clearly says that a father gets a Sawarṇa son, *i.e.*, a son of his own Varṇa only from a Sawarṇa mother, *i.e.*, mother of his own Varṇa, implying thereby that from a mother of the lower Varṇa he gets a son of the lower Varṇa.

43. But the change in the system of Varṇas did not stop even at this second stage. The ideas of superiority must have become more rigid and prevented marriage even with women of the lower Varṇa. In both the stages, moreover, the difficulty of educating sons for doing duties of a Varṇa different from that of the father, must have become manifest and must have prevented marriages with women of the lower Varṇas. Thus there arose the present system of the Varṇas as represented by “Ādityapurāṇa” quoted by Mādhavāchārya in his commentary on “Parāśara Smṛiti”, wherein amongst acts prohibited in the Kali Yuga is included the marriage with girls of a different Varṇa (कन्यानामसवर्णानां विवाहश्च द्विजातिभिः).

43-A. There came about another very important change in the old system of the Varṇas. A man could in ancient times

go from one Varṇa to another either automatically or by the acts of the Manu and the Saptarshis. But very early the automatic laws about change of Varṇa were either forgotten or misunderstood or looked upon with disfavour and the functions of the Manus and the Saptarshis were also forgotten or misunderstood. Moreover Manus and Saptarshis were not appointed again after the reign of the Bārhadratha king Śuchi. All this must have resulted from the natural desire of keeping in one's family the privileges obtained as a member of a particular Varṇa and the unwillingness to part with those privileges.

44. Having thus traced the changes in the system of the Varṇas, brought about by ideas of superiority or inferiority, we shall now investigate into the origin and rationale of those ideas. There is no natural superiority or inferiority. We cannot really say that the taste of a mango is superior or inferior to that of a plantain, or that the smell of a rose is superior or inferior to that of jasmine, though both are pleasing. Similarly how can we know if the intelligence of the Brāhmaṇa is superior or inferior to the bodily strength and enduring capacity of the Śūdra or Vaiśya, both being necessary for and beneficial to the well-being of the society? It is clear that there is no natural superiority or inferiority and that any idea of superiority or inferiority must be artificial, *i.e.*, created by man for some purpose. The duties assigned to a Brāhmaṇa required that he should be looked upon as superior. The relation between Varṇas is well expressed in “त्रयोवर्णा ब्राह्मणस्य वशे वर्तेरन् । तेषां ब्राह्मणो धर्मान् प्रवृथात् । तं राजा चानु-शिष्यात्” ॥ ४०-४२ ॥ by Vasishta in Chapter I.

Translation:—The three Varṇas, *i.e.*, Kshatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra should remain in the control of the Brāhmaṇa. The Brāhmaṇa should declare their duties and the king should enforce them.

It is clear that this arrangement cannot work smoothly unless the other three Varṇas have respect for the Brāhmaṇa and unless the Vaiśya and the Śūdra have respect for the Kshatriya. As the Śūdra was to serve the others it was also necessary that he should have respect for the other Varṇas. Hence an artificial order was created in which the Brāhmaṇa stood at the head, the Kshatriya stood below the Brāhmaṇa, the Vaiśya stood below the Kshatriya and the Śūdra stood below the Vaiśya.

Note:—Here I quote passages that prove this order.

This order is stated impliedly in:

लोकानां तु विवृद्धयर्थं मुखबाहूरुपादतः ।

ब्राह्मणं क्षत्रियं वैश्यं शूद्रं च निखर्तयत् ॥ ३१ ॥—मनु., अ. १.

Translation:—For the advancement of the society, the Brahṁā created the Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras from the face, arms, thighs and feet respectively. This passage implies that Brāhmaṇa is superior to Kshatriya, that Kshatriya is superior to Vaiśya and that Vaiśya is superior to Śūdra as face is higher than arms, arms higher than thighs and thighs higher than legs. The same order is stated expressly in

चत्वारो वर्णा ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियवैश्यशूद्राः ॥ ४ ॥

तेषां पूर्वः पूर्वोऽन्मतः श्रेयान् ॥ ५ ॥

—आपस्तंब धर्मसूत्र, प्र. १, कंडिका १).

Translation:—There are four Varnas, the Brāhmaṇa, the Kshatriya, the Vaiśya and the Śūdra. The former is superior to the latter.

This order is only artificial but unfortunately it was thought to be natural and it then produced all the mischief described previously.

45. Connected with this subject is that of the privileges bestowed upon the Brāhmaṇa. These privileges are (1) exemption from punishment by the king and (2) exclusive right of receiving gifts and (3) freedom from taxation. These are stated in the following passages:

“ अदण्डया मे द्विजाश्चेति प्रतिजानीहि हे प्रभो ” ॥ १०८ ॥

—महाभारत, शांतिपर्व, अ. ५९.

Translation:—Oh Lord, also make this promise that you would regard the Brāhmaṇas as being unpunishable. This is the oath administered to Prithu who was put on the throne after the deposition of king Vena for his misdeeds.

स्वराष्ट्रे न्यायवृत्तः स्यात् . . . ब्राह्मणेषु क्षमान्वितः ॥ ३२ ॥

—मनुस्मृति, अ. ७.

Translation:—In his own kingdom, a king should be just and he should pardon the Brāhmaṇas.

दश स्थानानि दण्डस्य मनुः स्वायंभुवोऽब्रवीत् ।

त्रिषु वर्णेषु यानि स्युरक्षतो ब्राह्मणो ब्रजेत् ॥ १२४ ॥

उपस्थमुदरं जिह्वा हस्तौ पादौ च पंचमम् ।

चक्षुर्नासा च कर्णौ च धनं देहस्तथैव च ॥ १२५ ॥—मनुस्मृति, अ. ८.

Translation.—Swāyambhuva Manu has declared ten places for punishment for the three Varnas other than the Brāhmaṇa. But the Brāhmaṇa should go off unhurt on these places. These ten places are: (1) the generative organ, (2) the tongue, (3) the abdomen, (4) two hands, (5) two feet, (6) eye, (7) nose, (8) two ears, (9) money, and (10) the whole body || 25 ||

मैथ्यं प्राणांतिको दंडः ब्राह्मणस्य विधीयते ।

इतरेषां तु वर्णानां दंडः प्राणांतिको भवेत् ॥ ३७९ ॥

न जातु ब्राह्मणं हन्यात्सर्वपापेष्वपि स्थितम् ।

राष्ट्रादेनं बहिःकुर्यात्समप्रघनमक्षतम् ॥ ३८० ॥

न ब्राह्मणवधाद्भूयानधर्मो विद्यते भुवि ।

तस्मादस्य वधं राजा मनसाऽपि न चिंतयेत् ॥ ३८१ ॥

—मनुस्मृति, अ. ८.

Translation.—Shaving the head is ordained to be the capital punishment for a Brāhmaṇa. The real capital punishment is for the other Varnas || 379 || Even if a Brāhmaṇa commits all the sins (offences) he should not be killed. He should only be expelled from the kingdom unhurt and with his property complete and unmulcted (समप्रघनं) || 380 || There is on Earth no greater Adharma than the killing of a Brāhmaṇa. Therefore the king should never even think of it || 381 ||

(2) Pratigraha, i.e., acceptance of gifts, is mentioned only amongst the duties and rights of a Brāhmaṇa and not of the other Varnas. This we shall see later on. Acceptance of gifts is therefore the exclusive right of the Brāhmaṇas.

(3) राजा तु धर्मेणानुशासत् षष्ठं षष्ठं धनस्य हरेत् ॥ ८३ ॥

अन्यत्र ब्राह्मणात् ॥ ४४ ॥

—वसिष्ठस्मृति, अ. १.

Translation.—A king governing according to Dharma can take as a tax one-sixth of the wealth (profits) of any one except the Brāhmaṇa.

अत्रिमाणाऽप्याददीत न राजा श्रोत्रियात्करम् ॥

—मनुस्मृति, अ. ८.

Translation.—Even a dying king should take no tax from a learned Brāhmaṇa. It should be noted that a Brāhmaṇa is not a Brāhmaṇa at all, if he is not learned and that therefore all these privileges would be granted to a learned Brāhmaṇa only.

Now the question is why were these privileges granted. These were granted to him not for his own benefit but for the

benefit of the society—to enable him to discharge his onerous duties. It was his duty to declare the law as it should be (उपतिष्ठति येतान्वै यावन्तो निर्भयास्तथा । सत्यं ब्रह्म यथाभूतं ब्रूवन्तो ब्राह्मणाश्चते ॥ quoted in paragraph 30), without being afraid of the kings and the kshatriyas. It is quite necessary for this that he should be exempt from punishment at the hands of the king. Otherwise it is very likely that he would stand in constant dread of the king and would be unable to declare the true law. For the same purpose even to-day the legislators and judges are given special protection in the constitutions of civilized countries. The other two privileges are also intended to keep a Brāhmaṇa well-supplied with money and give him an independent and easy living so that he may be enabled thereby to devote his undivided attention to his chief duty, the acquisition of and dismission of knowledge and be enabled thereby to speak the truth freely without being influenced by anybody upon whom he may have to depend for his livelihood. It is thus clear that the privileges of the Brāhmaṇa were given to him for the benefit of the society.

46. I shall now describe in detail the duties and rights of all the Varnas.

अध्यापनमध्ययनं यजनं याजनं तथा ।

दानं प्रतिग्रहश्चैव षट्कर्मण्यग्रजन्मनः ॥ ७५ ॥

षण्णां तु कर्मणामस्य त्रीणि कर्माणि जीविका ॥ ७६ ॥

—मनुस्मृति, अ. १०.

सर्वान् परित्यजेदर्थान् स्वाध्यायस्य विरोधिनः ।

यथातथाध्यापयन्स्तु साह्यस्य कृतकृत्यता ॥ १७ ॥

बुद्धिबुद्धिकराण्याश्च धान्यानि च हितानि च ।

नित्यं शास्त्राण्येवेक्षेत निगमांश्चैव वैदिकान् ॥ १९ ॥

—मनुस्मृति, अ. ४.

ऋतामृताभ्यां जीवेत्तु प्रमृतेन मृतेन वा ।

सत्यामृताभ्यामपि वा न श्ववृत्त्या कदाचन ॥ ४ ॥

ऋतमुच्छशिलं ज्ञेयं अमृतं स्यादयाचितम् ।

मृतं तु याचितं भैक्ष्यं प्रमृतं कर्षणं स्मृतम् ॥ ५ ॥

सत्यामृतं तु वाणिज्यं तेन चैवाऽपि जीव्यते ।

सेवा श्ववृत्तिराख्याता तस्मात्तां परिवर्जयेत् ॥ ६ ॥

कुशुलधान्यको वास्यात् कुर्भीधान्यक एव वा ।

अद्वैहिको वापि भवेत् अश्वस्तनिक एव वा ॥ ७ ॥

चतुर्णामपि चैतेषां द्विजानां गृहमेधिनाम् ।

ज्यायान् परः परो ज्ञेयो धर्मतो लोकजित्तमः ॥ ८ ॥

—मनुस्मृति, अ. ४.

न पूर्वं गुरवे किंचिदुपकुर्वीत धर्मवित् ।

ज्ञान्यन्स्तु गुरुणाज्ञप्तः शक्या गुर्वर्थमाहरेत् ॥ २४ ॥

—मनुस्मृति, अ. २.

*Translation:—*Teaching, study, worshipping (यज्ञ), helping others in worship, making gifts, and accepting gifts, these are the acts of a Brāhmaṇa. Three of these six are his means of livelihood ॥ 75 and 76 ॥ “Manu”, Chapter 10.

A Brāhmaṇa should abandon all things that are opposed to study and he should teach at all costs. That is the real performance of his duty ॥ 17 ॥ He should always study those sciences that augment thinking power, sciences that are helpful in producing corn (धान्यानि), sciences that are useful and works that help the understanding of the Vedas ॥19॥ (“Manu Smṛiti”, Chapter 4).

A Brāhmaṇa should live by Rīta or Amṛita, or by Mṛita, or by Pramṛita or by mixture of truth and falsehood (सत्यावृत्त) but should never live the life of a dog ॥ 4 ॥ Rīta is picking up of grains scattered in the market (उच्छ) and collecting grains from ears of corns thrown away by farmers. (शिलं) Amṛita is that which is given without begging. Mṛita is that which is given after begging. Pramṛita is that which is obtained by cultivation. Satyāṇṛita is trade. A Brāhmaṇa may live even by that. But service is called the livelihood of a dog. Therefore a Brāhmaṇa should avoid it ॥ 6 ॥ He should store grain in a storeroom (कुशुल, बखारी), i.e., he should store grain for three years, or he should store grain in a jar, i.e., he should store grain for one year. Or he should store grain for three days only or he should not keep anything for the next day ॥ 7 ॥ Of these four householders, the latter is superior to the former and gets superior world for his reward ॥ 8 ॥ This means that a Brāhmaṇa was to keep himself as poor as possible. (“Manu”, Chapter 4).

A student knowing his duty may not give anything to his preceptor before beginning to study. But when he has completed his study and being permitted by the preceptor wants to return to

his home and perform the bathing ceremony (स्नायन्) he should obtain as much as he can (शक्या) for the preceptor || 24 || ("Manu", Chapter II).

This implies that a preceptor must teach a student even if he does not pay anything before being taught. Thus it proves that it was the duty of a Brāhmaṇa to teach free.

तथैव सप्तमे भक्ते भक्तानि षडनश्नता ।

अश्वस्तनविधानेन हर्तव्यं हीनकर्मणः ॥ १६ ॥

खलात् क्षेत्रादगाराद्वा यतोवाप्युपलभ्यते ।

आख्यातव्यं तु तत्तस्मै पृच्छते यदि पृच्छति ॥ १७ ॥

न तस्मिन् धारयेद्दंडं धार्मिकः पृथिवीपतिः ।

क्षत्रियस्य हि बालिश्यात् ब्राह्मणः सीदति क्षुधा ॥ २१ ॥

तस्य भृत्यजनं ज्ञात्वा स्वकुटुंबान्महीपतिः ।

श्रुतशाले च विज्ञाय वृत्तिं धर्म्यां प्रकल्पयेत् ॥ २२ ॥

—मनुस्मृति, अ. ११.

Translation:—If a Brāhmaṇa does not get food six times, i.e., for 3 days (because a man is supposed to take food twice a day) then at the seventh time, he should take away from a man of low actions, grain sufficient for that day only (अश्वस्तनविधानेन) || 16 || either from the threshing floor or from the field or from the house or from whatever place it is obtainable. And if he asks about it, he should tell him about it || 17 || A dutiful king should not punish that Brāhmaṇa, for, a Brāhmaṇa suffers from hunger on account of the childishness of the king himself || 21 || On the other hand, the king should obtain information about the number of persons of his family whom it is his duty to maintain and about his learning and character, and should provide for such maintenance as is enjoined for him by law || 22 || ("Manu", Chapter 11.) This shows how careful the law was about the well-being of a Brāhmaṇa. It is quite natural and just, because the Brāhmaṇa being burdened with onerous duties for the benefit of the society, it was quite necessary to take care about his well-being.

Now we shall detail the duties of a king. The king was to be always a Kshatriya by Varṇa and the other Kshatriyas had to help the king in the discharge of his duties. Therefore it is necessary to know the duties of a king. These duties are well-expressed in the oath that is to be administered to kings at their

coronation and that was actually administered to Pṛithu according to the "Mahābhārata". The oath is as follows:

प्रतिज्ञां चाधिरोहस्व कर्मणा मनसा गिरा ।
 पालयिष्याम्यहं भौमं ब्रह्म इत्येवं चासकृत् ॥ १०६ ॥
 यश्चात्र धर्मो नित्योक्तो दंडनीतिव्यपाश्रयः ।
 तमशंकः करिष्यामि स्ववशो न कदाचन ॥ १०७ ॥
 अदंडया मे द्विजाश्चेति प्रतिजानीहि हे प्रभो ।
 लोकं च संकरात्कृत्स्नं त्रातास्मीति परंतप ॥ १०८ ॥

—महाभारत, शांतिपर्व, अ. ५९.

Translation:—Take this oath again and again. "I will protect the Brahma on Earth (i.e., the Brāhmaṇas) by action, mind and words ; I will not act at any time according to my own inclinations but will doubtless act according to the unchangeable Dharma laid down in the Daṇḍa-Neeti". Oh Lord, also make this promise "I will not punish the Brāhmaṇas and I will protect the whole world from the admixture of the Varnas."

ब्राह्मं प्राप्तेन संस्कारं क्षत्रियेन यथाविधि ।
 सर्वस्यास्य यथान्यायं कर्तव्यं परिरक्षणं ॥ २ ॥
 मौलान् शास्त्रविदः शूरान् लब्धलक्षान् कुलोद्भूतान् ।
 सचिवान् सप्त चाष्टौ वा प्रकुर्वीत परीक्षितान् ॥ ५४ ॥
 अपि यत्सुकरं कर्म तदप्येकेन दुष्करम् ॥ ५५ ॥
 विशेषतोऽसहायेन किं नु राज्यं महोदयम् ।
 तैः सार्धं चित्तयेन्नित्यं सामान्यं संधिविग्रहम् ।
 स्थानं समुदयं गुप्तिं लब्धप्रशमनानि च ॥ ५६ ॥
 तेषां स्वं स्वमभिप्रायमुपलभ्य पृथक् पृथक् ।
 समस्तानां च कार्येषु विदध्याद् हितमात्मनः ॥ ५७ ॥
 सर्वेषां तु विशिष्टेन ब्राह्मणेन विपश्चिता ।
 मंत्रयेत्परमं मंत्रं राजाषाड्गुण्यसंयुतम् ॥ ५८ ॥
 नित्यं तस्मिन् समाश्वस्तः सर्वकार्याणि निक्षिपेत् ।
 तेन सार्धं विनिश्चित्य ततः कर्म समारभेत् ॥ ५९ ॥

—मनुस्मृति, अ. ७.

Translation:—A Kshatriya who has been enlightened by learning Vedas as directed by the Śāstras (ब्राह्मं संस्कारं) should protect this whole society ॥ १ ॥ He should appoint seven or eight ministers, well-tested, born of good families, skilful in

the use of weapons (लब्धलक्ष्यान्), brave, having knowledge of the sciences, and whose ancestors also have served the king or his ancestors (सौलान्), ॥ 54 ॥ because, even an ordinarily easy act is yet difficult to be done by one man if unaided, what then of "governing" the kingdom, the fruit of which is very great ॥ 55 ॥ With them he should consult about ordinary (not to be kept secret) peace-treaties, hostility, matters about army, treasury, town and country (स्थानं) income (समुदयम्), protection and pacification of conquered territories (लब्धप्रशमनानि) ॥ 56 ॥ Having obtained the opinion of each of them separately and of all of them jointly, he should do what is beneficial to him ॥ 57 ॥ But his highest consultation (परमं मंत्र) about all six matters referred to in verse 161, should be done with the learned Brāhmaṇa most distinguished of all (विशिष्टेन) ॥ 58 ॥ He should always confide in him and should assign all acts to him. He should begin an act after having come to a decision, together with him ॥ 59 ॥ ("Manusmṛiti", Chapter 7.)

“ब्राह्मणं च पुरोधीतं विद्याभिजनवाग्व्यवयःशीलसंपन्नम् न्यायव्रतम् तपस्वि-
नम् । तत्प्रसूतः कर्माणि कुर्वीत । ब्रह्मप्रसूतं हि क्षत्रमुच्यते न व्यथत इति च
विज्ञायते” ।
—गौतमस्मृति, अ. ११.

Translation:—He (the king) should appoint as a Purohita (Prime-minister) a Brāhmaṇa, having knowledge, noble descent, eloquence, august and pleasing appearance, mature and active age and good character, whose rule of life is justice and who abstains from bodily or sensual pleasures (तपस्विनम्). The king should act with his consent (तत्प्रसूतः). It is known that the king acting with the consent of such a Purohita prospers and does not get afflicted ॥ 12-16 ॥ Chapter II "Gautama Smṛiti". This means that every act of the king required consent of the Purohita. This is just as it is in England where every order of the king requires the consent of the Prime Minister also. The Mahābhārata also says:

वक्ष्यामि तु यथामात्मान् यादृशांश्च करिष्यसि ॥ ६ ॥

चतुरो ब्राह्मणान् वैद्यान् प्रगल्भान् स्नातकान् शुचीन् ।

क्षत्रियांश्च तथाचाष्टौ बलिनः शस्त्रपाणिनः ॥ ७ ॥

वैश्यान् वित्तेन संपन्नान् एकविंशति संख्यया ।

त्रींश्च शूद्रान् विनीतांश्च शुचीन् कर्मणि पूर्वके ॥ ८ ॥

अष्टाभिश्च गुणैर्युक्तं सूतं पौराणिकं तथा ।

पञ्चाशद्वर्षवयसं प्रगल्भमनसूयकम् ॥ ९ ॥

श्रुतिस्मृतिसमायुक्तं विनीतं समदर्शनम् ।

कार्ये विवदमानानां शक्तमर्थेष्वलोलुपम् ॥ १० ॥

वर्जितं चैव व्यसनैः सुघोरैः सप्तभिर्भृशम् ।

अष्टानां मंत्रिणाम् मध्ये मंत्रं राजोपधारयेत् ॥ ११ ॥

सतः (ततः) संप्रेषयेद्वाष्ट्रे राष्ट्रीयाय च दर्शयेत् ।

अनेन व्यवहारेण द्रष्टव्यास्ते प्रजाः सदा ॥ १२ ॥

—शांतिपर्व, अ. ८४.

Translation:—I shall tell you how and of what kind you should appoint your ministers ॥ 6 ॥ Four Brāhmaṇas, learned (वैद्यान्) and honest (शुचीन्) who are mature and have completed their study at a teacher's school (स्नातक) (that is who are graduates), eight Kshatriyas strong and skilful in the use of weapons ॥ 7 ॥ twenty-one Vaiśyas possessing wealth, three Sūdras that are humble and honest in the duties previously mentioned (i.e., the duty of attending upon other Varṇas), and one Sūta (by Varṇa) who knows Purāṇas, has got eight qualifications, is fifty years of age, mature and free from jealousy, knows Śrūti and Smṛiti also, is modest and impartial (समदर्शिनं), who is able to control the disputants about any point, who is not greedy of money ॥ 10 ॥ and who is free from seven terrific vices. The king should take decision about anything in the midst of (at least) eight of these ministers ॥ 11 ॥ and then that decision he should proclaim in his kingdom and should also communicate to the governors (राष्ट्रीयाय) of the provinces. In this manner you should govern your subjects ॥ 12 ॥

These passages show the duty of a king and therefore of other Kshatriyas whose duty it was to help him and they also show the part that the other Varṇas had in the government of the kingdom.

इन्द्रस्याकस्य वायोश्च यमस्य वरुणस्य च ।

चन्द्रस्याग्नेः पृथिव्याश्च तेजोवृत्तं नृपश्चेरत् ॥ ३०३ ॥

वार्षिकांश्चतुरोमासान् यथेन्द्रोऽभिप्रवर्षति ।

तथाभिवर्षेत्स्वं राष्ट्रं कामैरिन्द्रव्रतं चरन् ॥ ३०४ ॥

अष्टौ मासान् यथादित्यः तोयं हरति रश्मिभिः ।

तथा हरेत्करं राष्ट्राञ्जित्यमर्कव्रतं हि तत् ॥ ३०५ ॥

प्रविश्य सर्वं भूतानि यथा चरति मारुतः ।

तथा चारैः प्रवेष्टव्यं व्रतमेतद्धि मारुतम् ॥ ३०६ ॥

यथा यमः प्रियद्वेष्यौ प्राप्ते काले नियच्छति ।
 तथा राज्ञा नियंतव्याः प्रजास्तद्धियमव्रतम् ॥ ३०७ ॥
 वरुणेन यथापाशैः बद्ध एवाभिदृश्यते ।
 तथा पापाग्निगृहीयान् व्रतमेतद्धि वारुणम् ॥ ३०८ ॥
 परिपूर्णं यथाचंद्रं दृष्ट्वा हृष्यति मानवाः ।
 तथा प्रकृतयो यस्मिन् स चांद्रव्रतिको नृपः ॥ ३०९ ॥
 प्रतापयुक्तस्तेजस्वी नित्यं स्यात्पापकर्मसु ।
 दुष्टसामंतहिंस्रश्च तदाग्नेयं व्रतं स्मृतम् ॥ ३१० ॥
 यथा सर्वाणि भूतानि धरा धारयते समम् ।
 तथा सर्वाणि भूतानि विभ्रतः पार्थिवं व्रतम् ॥ ३११ ॥

—मनुस्मृति, अ. ९.

*Translation:—*A king should imitate the spirited behaviour of Indra, the Sun, the Wind, Yama, Varuṇa, the Moon, Fire and the Earth ॥ 303 ॥ As Indra rains all the four months of the rainy season, so he, observing Indra's rule of action, should rain his kingdom with desires, i.e., by fulfilling the desires of his subjects ॥ 304 ॥ As the Sun takes away water for eight months by his rays, in the same way, he should take taxes from his kingdom. This is the Sun's rule of action ॥ 305 ॥ As the wind enters and moves through all living beings, in the same way, he should enter all human beings by means of his spies. This is the Wind's rule of action ॥ 306 ॥ As Yama restrains, at the proper time both the beloved and the hated, so he should restrain his subjects. That is Yama's rule of action ("restrain" here means kills) ॥ 307 ॥ As every sinful man is seen ensnared by Varuṇa, in the same way the king should imprison all sinful men. This is Varuṇa's rule of action ॥ 308 ॥ He is the king observing the Moon's rule of conduct on seeing whom the subjects are pleased as much as men are pleased by seeing the full Moon ॥ 309 ॥ He should show to sinful men his prowess and his sharpness and to sinful neighbouring kings, he should be very ferocious. This is Fire's rule of conduct ॥ 310 ॥ It is the Earth's rule of conduct, if a king supports all beings as equally as the Earth does support all beings ॥ 311 ॥

This passage enumerates all the duties of a king briefly and poetically with regard to subjects in his own kingdom. Now I shall quote a passage that states his duties even towards the subjects of another kingdom.

जित्वा संपूजयेद्देवान् ब्राह्मणांश्चैव धार्मिकान् ।

प्रदद्यात्परिहारान्श्च ख्यापयेद्दभयानि च ॥ २०१ ॥

सर्वेषां तु विदित्वैषां समासेन चिकीर्षितम् ।

स्थापयेत्तत्र वदंश्च कुर्याच्च समयक्रियाम् ॥ २०२ ॥

प्रमाणानि च कुर्वीत तेषां धर्म्यान् यथोदितान् ।

रत्नैश्च पूजयेदेनं प्रधानपुरुषैः सह ॥ २०३ ॥ —मनु., अ. ७.

Translation:—A king, having conquered a country, should worship the deities (or public functionaries) and dutiful (धार्मिक) Brāhmaṇas in that country. He should grant lands exempt from taxation (परिहारान्) and proclaim amnesty (to those who fought on the side of the defeated king) ॥ 201 ॥ And then having ascertained briefly (समासेन) the desire of all these, i.e., the public functionaries and dutiful Brāhmaṇas, he should establish on the throne a man from the family of the defeated king and should make an agreement with him ॥ 202 ॥ He should accept their just claims as stated by them (यथोदितान्) and he should honour the newly established king and his ministers with valuable things (रत्नैः) ॥ 203 ॥

This passage proclaims the right of self-determination, so loudly trumpeted but so often violated in modern times. It also shows how to win peace after having won the war, i.e., a way of making peace that will leave no cause for further wars.

Now I shall quote a passage that shows the chief duty of a Vaiśya.

धर्मेण च द्रव्यवृद्धौ आतिष्ठेद् यत्नमुत्तमम् ।

दद्याच्च सर्वभूतानामन्नमेव प्रयत्नतः ॥ ३३३ ॥ —मनु., अ. ९.

Translation:—A Vaiśya should try his best to increase his wealth by just means, and he should give food to all beings by all his efforts ॥ 333 ॥

LECTURE V

MANUS AND SAPTARSHIS

(Their History)

47. Manus and Saptarshis have been mentioned in Nighaṇṭu in Chapter 5 as public functionaries (पदानि). We have seen in paragraph 24 that they are members of the public assembly named स्वर or दिवम् or स्वर्ग. We should notice that the public functionaries named देवाः are also members of the same assembly. We should also note the public functionaries named पितरः who are members of the public assembly named भुवर्. The देवाः and पितरः are sometimes associated with Saptarshis or Rishis in some statements.

48. We have seen in paragraph 23 that the term of office of these public functionaries is one Kalpa, i.e., 4 years. There must, therefore, have been a large number of Manus and a large number of groups of Saptarshis. But the Purāṇas only mention fourteen Manus and 14 groups of Saptarshis. What is the explanation? We shall see in the next lecture that the Manus and Saptarshis had three functions, one of them being the re-division of the Varnas. This function of re-division of Varnas was exercised by only fourteen Manus and groups of Saptarshis. It is only these fourteen that are remembered and mentioned in the Purāṇas. This is clear from the fact that each of these fourteen Manus is qualified as we shall see later on by the word ब्रह्मक्षत्रप्रवर्तक, i.e., the originator of Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas. In this lecture I shall give the history of these fourteen Manus and groups of Saptarshis and in the next lecture I shall describe the functions of Manus and Saptarshis.

49. The following passage gives the history of स्वायम्भुवमनु, the first of these fourteen Manus and the Saptarshis associated with him:

१. वर्णाश्रमव्यवस्थानं तेषां ब्रह्मा तथाऽकरोत् ।

पुनः प्रजास्तु ता मोहात्तान् धर्माज्ञ ह्यपालयन् ॥ ५५ ॥

परस्परविरोधेन मनुं ताः पुनरन्वयुः ॥ ५६ ॥

—ब्रह्मांडपुराणे, पाद २, अ. २९ ; वायुपुराणे, अ. ५७.

२. तत्र त्रेतायुगस्यादौ मनुः सप्तर्षयश्च ते ।
 श्रौतं स्मार्तं च धर्मं च ब्रह्मणा च प्रचोदितम् ॥ ३९ ॥
 दारामिहोत्रसंयोगं ऋग्यजुःसामसंज्ञितम् ।
 इत्यादिलक्षणं श्रौतं धर्मं सप्तर्षयोऽब्रुवन् ॥ ४० ॥
 परंपरागतम् स्मार्तं धर्मं चाचारलक्षणम् ॥
 वर्णाश्रमाचारयुतम् मनुः स्वायंभुवोऽब्रवीत् ॥ ४१ ॥

—वायुपुराणे, अ. ५७; ब्रह्मांडपुराणे, पाद २, अ. २९.

३. कथं त्रेतायुगमुखे यज्ञस्यासीत् प्रवर्तनम् ।
 पूर्वं स्वायंभुवे सर्गे यथावत्प्रवर्तहि मे ॥ ८६ ॥
 अंतर्हितायां संध्यायां सार्धं कृतयुगेन वै ।
 कलाख्यायां प्रवृत्तायां प्राप्ते त्रेतायुगे तदा ॥ ८७ ॥
 वर्णाश्रमव्यवस्थानं कृतवन्तश्च वै पुनः ॥ ८८ ॥

—वायुपुराणे, अ. ५७; ब्रह्मांडपुराणे, पाद २, अ. २९.

Translation:—In that way the Brahmā established for them the system of Varnas and Āśramas. But again the people did not observe those laws on account of foolishness and then on account of mutual conflict (परस्परद्विराधेन) caused thereby they again followed Manu (55-56).

Then in the beginning of the Tretā Yuga, Manu and Saptarshis declared the Śrouta and Smārta Dharma promulgated by Brahmā ॥ 39 ॥ The Śrouta Dharma embodied (संहितं the reading in the ब्रह्मांडपुराण, पा. २, अ. २९) in ऋक्, यजुष् and साम and consisting of marriage and Yajña or worship of fire (अग्निहोत्रं) was declared by the Saptarshis ॥ 40 ॥ The Smārta Dharma, traditionally handed down (परंपरागतं) consisting of the duties (आचार) of the Varnas and the Āśramas was declared by Swāyambhuva Manu ॥ 41 ॥

The first two passages have already been referred to in paragraph 31. They show that the system of Varnas started by Brahmā was not continued by people on account of foolishness (मोहात्) and was revived after abeyance for some period by Swāyambhuva Manu in the beginning of the Tretā Yuga.

The third passage gives the exact date of this revival. The following is the translation of this third passage:

“Tell us truly how the Yajña was started in the beginning of the Tretā Yuga in the creation of Swāyambhuva Manu. Tell us how they again established the Varnas and Āśramas when the Kṛitā Yuga and the interim thereafter had ended, when the

Tretā Yuga had arrived and when the period named Kalā had begun.”—“Vāyupurāṇa”, Chapter 57.

Now we know that the period of Kṛita is 400 years including its own interim. Then would follow the interim of the Tretā in its beginning, of the length of 30 years. This would make 430 years from the beginning of the Varāha Mahākālpa to the end of the संधि between कृत and त्रेता. But a new small Kalpa begins not at the end of 430 years but at the end of 432 years from the beginning of the Varāha Kalpa and the Kalā (कला) mentioned here appears to be same as the small Kalpa. Therefore the date of the revival of the Varṇa system by Swāyambhuva Manu would seem to be 432 Kalpa Era or 2670 B.C. This is also, of course, the beginning of the period of Swāyambhuva Manu.

50. This Manu and the Saptarshis in his period did not only revive the system of Varṇas but they also gave a fresh impetus to Yajña (अग्निहोत्र), and the system of marriage by reducing the laws and regulation of Ānanda Brahmā to writing. This is my inference and the following are my reasons for it : The passage in verses 39-41 of Chapter 57 of “Vāyupurāṇa”, just quoted, says that the regulation about marriage and Yajña (दाराम्निहोत्रसंयोगम्) was called श्रौत and that about Varṇa and Āśrama was called स्मार्त. The following passages show the cause of this difference in nomenclature:

पूर्वैभ्यो वेदयित्वेह श्रौतं सप्तर्षयोऽब्रुवन् ।

ऋचो यजूंषि सामानि ब्रह्मणोऽगानि च श्रुतीः ॥ ३१ ॥

मन्वन्तरस्यातीतस्य स्मृत्वाऽऽचारं पुनर्जगौ ।

तस्मात्स्मार्तः स्मृतो धर्मो वर्णाश्रम विभागजः ॥ ३२ ॥

—वायुपुराणे, अ. ५९.

Translation:—The Saptarshis declared the Śrouta Dharma, the R̥gveda (ऋचः), the Yajurveda (यजूंषि) the Sāmaveda (सामानि) and the six Āṅgas (ब्रह्मणोऽगानि श्रुतीः) of the Vedas, by knowing, i.e., hearing them from their predecessors (पूर्वैभ्यः) in office ॥ 31 ॥ (Swāyambhuva Manu) again declared the duties (आचार) of Varṇas and Āśramas by inferring (स्मृत्वा) the duties of Varṇas and Āśramas in the past period of Manu. Hence the duties of Varṇa and Āśrama are called Smārta duties ॥ 32 ॥

विज्ञेयः श्रवणाच्छ्रौत. स्मरणात्स्मार्त उच्यते ।

इज्यावेदात्मकः श्रौतः स्मार्तः वर्णाश्रमात्मकः ॥ ३९ ॥

—वायुपुराणे, अ. ५९.

Translation:—The Śrouta Dharma should be known as Śrouta because it was heard (श्रवणात्) and the Smārta Dharma is called Smārta because it was inferred (स्मरणात्). The Dharma about Yajña (इज्या) and marriage (आवेद or वेद) is Śrouta and Dharma about Varṇa and Āśrama is Smārta || 39 || Chapter 59 in "Vāyupurāṇa".

Note.—The word वेदयित्वा in verse 31 should be translated as 'having heard' because for the same act the word श्रवणात् has been used in verse 39. The word "स्मरण" must be taken to mean, "historical inference" because "स्मरण" must have a meaning distinct from that of श्रवण and "historical inference" can be the only meaning distinct from that of श्रवण, the other meaning namely "remembrance of experiences in previous birth" not being rational and realistic.

One may question why the same method was not used with regard to both the Dharmas. The answer is quite clear. The Dharmas about Varṇas and Āśrama were in abeyance (तान् धर्मान् नक्षपालयन्) and could not be known by hearing from predecessors. They would be known only by historical inference. The Dharmas about Yajña and marriage were being observed and could therefore be known by hearing from predecessors (पूर्वैभ्यः). One may ask here why were the Dharmas about Yajña and marriage declared at all, by the Saptarshis of the period of Swāyambhuva Manu if they were being observed at that time. The answer can only be that previously they were being handed down by words of mouth (उपदेश) but that being a difficult and inefficient method of handing them down, they were reduced to writing. (The historians know that a similar thing was done in Rome in very ancient times.) Yāska also makes the same inference in the following passage:

साक्षात्कृतधर्माण ऋषयोवभूवुः । तेऽवरेभ्योऽसाक्षात्कृतधर्मभ्य उपदेशेन मंत्रान् संप्रादुः । उपदेशाय ग्लायंतोऽवरे बिल्मग्रह्णायेमं ग्रंथं समाम्नाषिसुर्वेदं वेदांगानि च ॥ २० ॥ निरुक्ते प्रथमाध्याये.

Translation:—There were Rishis who personally saw Dharma. They handed down by words of mouth (उपदेशेन) the Mantras of ऋग्वेद, यजुर्वेद and सामवेद to inferior men who could not see Dharmas personally. The inferior men were too weak (ग्लायंतः) even for handing down Dharma by words of mouth (उपदेशाय). Therefore they (i.e., the inferior men) handed down this work (i.e., the निघंटु) the Vedas and the Vedāṅgas, of course in writing (because ग्रंथ means a book in writing).

It appears as if Yāska had before him the same passages in the Purāṇas that we are here considering. They clearly show that Vedas and the Smṛitis were first reduced to writing at the time of Swāyambhuva Manu.

This is also supported by the following statement:

वर्णानां प्रविभागश्च त्रेतायां संप्रकीर्तितः ।

संहिताश्च ततो मंत्रा ऋषिभिर्वाङ्मणेस्तु ते ॥ ६० ॥

—वायुपुराणे, अ. ५७.

Translation:—It is said that the division of the Varṇas was done in the Tretā Yuga and then the Mantras were reduced to Samhitas, i.e., to written works by Saptarshis who were Brāhmaṇas. It may be objected that the people of the days of Swāyambhuva Manu did not know writing. This is the opinion of those who regard the Indian Āryans as men of low intelligence. If the Āryans could measure the length of the tropical year almost exactly before B.C. 3102 as I have shown they did in my book "The Astronomical Method, etc." they must have known the art of writing also very early. Several Mantras in the Vedas support this conclusion. In "सप्तमर्यादाः कवयस्ततश्चुः ।" (ऋग्वेद, १०-५-६) and in "सनायते गौतम इन्द्र नव्यमतश्चतुर्ब्रह्म" (ऋग्वेद, १-६३-१३) the root तक्ष to engrave proves that they knew writing.

The work of Manu though called a स्मृति must have got the same authority as Śruti is supposed to have at the present time. It must have got an independent authority by itself (स्वतःप्रमाण्यं) and not an authority dependent upon that of Śruti. It must be noted here that no one except a Manu the public functionary could write a Śmṛiti and that in fact no one other than a Manu wrote a Śmṛiti, till the time of गौतम the author of the गौतमस्मृति, i.e., about 613 B.C. (see paragraph 433 of my book "The Astronomical Method, etc."), when the institution of Manu and Saptarshis appears to have been forgotten and when the word स्मृति itself changed its meaning and began to mean exposition of the Vedas. It must also be noted that the present "Manu-smṛiti" is not the "Manusmṛiti" of the days of Swāyambhuva Manu.

51. I have detailed above what happened at the time of Swāyambhuva Manu. The following passage in the Mahābhārata describes part of it very vividly:

ये हि ते ऋषयः ख्याताः सप्त चित्रशिखंडिनः ॥ २७ ॥
 तैरेकमतिभिर्भूत्वा यत्प्रोक्तं शास्त्रमुत्तमम् ।
 वेदैश्चतुर्भिः समितं कृतं मेरौ महागिरौ ॥ २८ ॥
 आस्यैः सप्तभिरुद्गीर्णं लोकधर्ममनुत्तमम् ।
 मरीचिरत्र्यंगिरसौ पुलस्त्यः पुलहः क्रतुः ।
 वसिष्ठश्च महातेजास्ते हि चित्रशिखंडिनः ॥ २९ ॥
 सप्त प्रकृतयोह्येतास्तथा स्वायंभुवोऽष्टमः ।
 एताभिर्धार्यते लोकः ताभ्यः शास्त्रं विनिःसृतम् ॥ ३० ॥
 एकाग्रमनसोदांता मुनयः संयमे रताः ।
 भूतभव्यभविष्यज्ञाः सत्यधर्मपरायणाः ॥ ३१ ॥
 इदं श्रेय इदं ब्रह्म इदं हितमनुत्तमम् ।
 लोकान् संचित्य मनसा ततः शास्त्रं प्रचक्रिरे ॥ ३२ ॥
 तत्रधर्मार्थकामाहि मोक्षः पश्चात्प्रकीर्तितः ।
 मर्यादा विविधाश्चैव दिवि भूमौ च संस्थिताः ॥ ३३ ॥
 नारायणानुशिष्टाहि तदा देवी सरस्वती ।
 विवेकतान्दुषीन् सर्वान् लोकानां हितकाम्यया ॥ ३५ ॥

—महाभारते, शांतिपर्वणि अ. ३३५.

Translation:—That is the best Śāstra respecting the duties of the people (लोकधर्म; adjective of शास्त्रं लोकानां धर्मा यस्मिन् तत् इति बहुव्रीहिः) which was declared after unanimous decision (एकमतिभिर्भूत्वा) by the Seven Rishis named चित्रशिखंडिनः and which was accompanied by the four Vedas and which was made on the great Mountain Meru and which was given out by seven mouths ॥ 28 ॥ Marichi, Atri, Aṅgiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu and the spirited Vasishṭha are the Chitraśikhaṇḍins. They are the seven Prakṛitis and Swāyambhuva Manu is the eighth. The society is held by them and the Śāstra has arisen from them ॥ 30 ॥

Those thinkers (मुनयः) who had concentrated their mind (एकाग्रमनसः) and had controlled their organs and mind (दांताः संयमे रताः), who knew the past, present and the future, who were intent upon Dharma based on truth (सत्यधर्मपरायणाः), thought about the people by the mind and concluded (लोकान् संचित्य), “this is the best (श्रेयः), this is ब्रह्मन्, this is the greatest good” (for the people) and then they made the Śāstra ॥ 32 ॥ In that Śāstra Social duty, money matters and enjoyment of senses and afterwards freedom from pain (मोक्ष) or Beatitude, also were declared. Also several limitations (rules) that are to be observed

(संस्थिताः) in the public assemblies named भू and दिव् were declared in that Śāstra || 33 || Also the goddess Saraswatī entered (inspired) them for doing good to the people by the command of Nārāyaṇa || 35 ||

52. I have narrated above the great deeds done by Swāyambhuva Manu. They explain the great respect with which Swāyambhuva Manu is spoken of even in the Vedas. He is spoken of even in Rīgveda, 1.80.16, 1.114.2, 2.33.13 and in 8.52.1, as father Manu (मनुः पिता, मनुष्य पिता). In Rīgveda, 8.30.3 we have the important prayer:

“मानः पथः पित्र्यान्मानवादधिदूरं नैष्ट परावतः”

Translation:—Oh, Gods, do not take us (नैष्ट; लुब्, 2nd person plural) away from the path of father Manu, that promotes the highest good (परावतः).^{*} In “Taittirīya Saṃhita”, 2.2.20.2 we have the very important statement:

“यद्वै किंच मनुखदत्तद् भेषजम्”

Translation:—Whatever Manu said is as beneficial as medicine. These references to Father Manu undoubtedly prove that Swāyambhuva Manu had done the great deeds described above.

53. I shall now describe the other Manus. The following passage gives a list and a brief description of all the fourteen Manus:

स्वायंभुवो मनुः पूर्वं मनुः स्वारोचिषस्तथा ।

औत्तमस्तामसश्चैव तथा रैवतचाक्षुषौ ॥ ३ ॥

षडेते मनवोऽतीताः वक्ष्याम्यष्टावनागतान् ।

सावर्णाः पञ्च रौच्यश्च भौत्यो वैवस्वतस्तथा ॥ ४ ॥

मनवः पञ्च येऽतीताः मानवांस्तानिबोधत ॥ ६ ॥

—वायुपुराणे, अ. ६२.

Translation:—Swāyambhuva the first Manu, Swārochisha, Uttama, Tāmasa, Raivata and Chākshusha are the six past Manus. I shall tell the eight future Manus. They are the five Sāvarṇas, Rouchya, Bhoutya and Vaivaswata. Know that the past five Manus are descendants of the first Swāyambhuva Manu (मानवान्) || 5 ||—“Vāyupurāṇa”, Chapter 62.

Having first given this list, the Purāṇa then describes in order the Swārochisha, Uttama, Tāmasa, Raivata and Chākshusha

* “परावतः” has a similar meaning in Rīgveda 10.63.1.

Manus in the same chapter, calling them as the second, third, fourth, fifth and sixth. The seventh Vaivaswata is described in Chapter 64 as the present (संप्रत) Manu. The future seven Manus are described in Chapter 100 and their names in order are Sāvarṇa, Dakṣa-Sāvarṇa or Meru-Sāvarṇa, Dharma-Sāvarṇa, Brahma-Sāvarṇa, Rudra-Sāvarṇa, Rouchya and Bhoutya. They are also described in Bhāgavata, Skandha 8, Chapter 13 the last two being named Deva-Sāvarṇi and Indra Sāvarṇi and the order of Dharma-Sāvarṇa and Brahma-Sāvarṇi being inverted. Though these Manus are said to be future Manus they are really past Manus. The kings described in Purāṇas as future kings are known to be really past kings. The future Manus must similarly be, in fact, past Manus. The statement "समतीतास्तु ये तेषामष्टौ षट् च तथाऽपरे, etc.," discussed in paragraph 59 which says that eight Manus are past, supports the same conclusion. Moreover, the adjective संप्रत applied as we shall see hereafter to some of the so-called future Manus proves the same. The reason for describing them as future kings or Manus is also very clear. The "Vāyupurāṇa" is written in the form of a dialogue during the period of Vaivaswata Manu. The subsequent editors of the "Vāyupurāṇa", when they brought it up to date, kept up that form and hence they had to describe the subsequent Manus or kings as future ones, though they were really past. That the "Vāyupurāṇa" was first written during the period of Vaivaswata Manu is shown by the following passage:

अष्टाविंशद् युगाख्यास्तु गता वैवस्वतस्तरे ।

एते राजर्षिभिः सार्धं शिष्टा यास्ता निबोधत ॥ ४५९ ॥

(एतैः)

चत्वारिंशद्व्येचैव भविष्याः सह राजभिः ।

(त्रयश्चैव)

युगाख्यानाम् विशिष्टास्तु ततो वैवस्वतक्षये ॥ ४६० ॥

(क्षयः)

—ब्रह्माण्डपुराणे, पाद ३, अ. ७४; वायुपुराणे, अ. ९९.

Translation:—In the period of Vaivaswata Manu, from the beginning of Vaivaswata Manu, 28 periods named Yugas have elapsed with those kings. Hear the periods that remain ॥ 459 ॥ The future forty (forty-three according to "Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa") periods named Yuga with kings are remaining. The period of Vaivaswata will end when they will have passed (ततः) ॥ 460 ॥

This statement has been much misunderstood. The Yuga mentioned here is supposed to be the astronomical Yuga of 43,20,000 years. But the astronomical Yugas had not then come into existence and Yuga meant only 4 years in those days (see my book "The Astronomical Method, etc.", paragraphs 265-268). Anyhow, the passage shows that the "Vāyupurāṇa" was first written when part of the period of Vaivaswata Manu had elapsed and hence the subsequent Manus have been described as future Manus though really they are past Manus. This will also be supported by the actual dates of the future Manus proved hereafter.

54. The Manus Uttama, Tāmasa and Raivata are grandsons of Swāyambhuva Manu. This is known from the following statements:

मनवः पंच येऽतीताः मानवांस्तान्निबोधत ॥ ५॥

स्वारोचिषोत्तमश्चैव तामसोरिवतस्तथा ।

(स्वारोचिषश्चोत्तमोऽपि)

प्रियव्रतान्वयाहते चत्वारो मनवस्तथा ॥ ५६ ॥

(वः स्मृताः)

—वायुपुराणे, अ. ६२ ; ब्रह्मांडपुराणे, पाद २, अ. ३६.

Translation:—The five past Manus, i.e., the Swārochisha, Uttama, Tāmasa, Raivata and Chākshusha are descendants of Swāyambhuva Manu ॥ 5 ॥ The four Manus Swārochisha, Uttama, Tāmasa and Raivata are descendants of Priyavrata ॥ 56 ॥

स्वांतनुं स ततो ब्रह्मा तामपौहृदभास्वराम् ।

द्विधाऽकरोत्स तं देहं अर्धेन पुरुषोऽभवत् ॥ ७ ॥

अर्धेन नारी सा तस्य शतरूपा व्यजायत ॥ ८ ॥

स वै स्वायंभुवः पूर्वं पुरुषो मनुश्च्यते ॥ ११ ॥

लब्ध्वा तु पुरुषः पत्नीं शतरूपामयोनिजां ॥ १२ ॥

तया स रमते सार्धम्..... ॥ १३ ॥

..... शतरूपा व्यजायत ॥ १५ ॥

प्रियव्रतोत्तानपादौ पुत्रौ पुत्रवतां वरौ ॥ १६ ॥

—वायुपुराणे, अ. १०.

Translation:—Then the Brahmā hid his dark body (अभास्वराम्) and divided that body into two parts ॥ 7 ॥ By one part he became a woman, she became Śatarūpā ॥ 8 ॥ and the other half who was man, was the first (पूर्वं) Manu Swāyambhuva ॥ 11 ॥

That man having obtained Śatarūpā for his wife, co-habited with her || 13 || Śatarūpā gave birth to two sons, Priyavrata and Uttanapāda, the best amongst sons borne by those having sons || 16 || (“पुत्रवताम्” is शेषेष्वृष्टी and not निर्धारणे षष्ठी).

स्वारोचिषोद्वितीयस्तु मनुस्मृत्यः सुतोऽभवत् ॥ १९ ॥

तृतीय उत्तमोनाम प्रियव्रतसुतो मनुः ॥ २३ ॥

चतुर्थ उत्तमभ्राता मनुर्नाम्ना च तामसः ॥ २७ ॥

—भागवते, स्कंध ८, अ. १.

पंचमो रैवतोनाम मनुस्तामससोदरः ॥ २ ॥

—भागवते, स्कंध ८, अ. ६.

Translation:—The second Manu named Swārochisha was the son of Agni || 19 || The third Manu Uttama was the son of Priyavrata || 23 || The fourth Manu named Tāmasa was the brother of Uttama || 27 || The fifth Manu named Raivata was the brother of Tāmasa || 2 || “Bhāgavata,” Skandha 8, Chapters 1 and 5.

These passages show that the Manus, Uttama, Tāmasa and Raivata, were sons of Priyavrata who was son of Swāyambhuva Manu (though they differ about the descent of Swārochisha).

Now as the Manus—Uttama, Tāmasa and Raivata—were grandsons of the Swāyambhuva Manu, the periods of the first four Manus must not have been very long. We have seen that the period of the Manu according to the constitution of those days was only four years. We have also got the following statements about the length of the periods of these Manus:

स्वायम्भुवेन विस्तारो ज्ञेयः स्वारोचिषस्य तु ॥ २३ ॥

औत्तमः परिसंख्यातः सर्गः स्वारोचिषेण तु ।

विम्लरेणानुपूर्व्या च..... ॥ ३६ ॥

—वायुपुराणे, अ. ६२.

Translation:—The length of the period of Swārochisha should be known by that of Swāyambhuva || 23 || The creation of Uttama is measured as regards the length and the number in the series of descendants, by that of Swārochisha || 36 ||

Under the circumstances detailed above, it would not be wrong to presume that the periods of Swāyambhuva, Swārochisha, Uttama and Tāmasa were four years each.

55. The Purāṇas give names of Saptarshis, Devas, Indras and Manuputras in the period of each Manu. I need not give

these details. I shall only give those things that are the most important.

औत्तमस्य मनोः पुत्रास्त्रयोदश महात्मनः ।

एते क्षत्रप्रणेतारः ॥ ३५ ॥

—वायुपुराणे, अ. ६२.

Translation:—The thirteen sons of the high-souled Auttama Manu were originators of the Kshatriyas ॥ 35 ॥

This shows that sons of all Manus were originators of Kshatriyas. "Vāyupurāṇa" in Chapter 62, verses 71-88 gives the line of descendants of उत्तानपाद upto चाक्षुषमनु. Chākshusha Manu is the 8th descendant of Uttānapāda. The "Vāyupurāṇa" says about him

रिपोरधात्त वृहती चाक्षुषं सर्वतेजसम् !

(च)

तस्य पुत्रो मनुर्विद्वान् ब्रह्मक्षत्रप्रवर्तकः ॥ ८८ ॥

व्यजीजनत् पुष्करिण्यां वारुण्यां चाक्षुषं मनुम् ।

(णी) (णी)

प्रजापतेरात्मजायामरण्यस्य महात्मनः ॥ ८९ ॥

चाक्षुषं नाम विख्यातं मनुं धर्मार्थकोविदं ॥ ९० ॥

—वायुपुराणे, अ. ६२; ब्रह्मांडपुराणे, पाद २, अ. ३६.

Translation:—Bṛihatī bore for Ripu the son named Chakshusha who was all-spirited. His son, the learned Manu, was the originator of the Brāhmaṇas and the Kshatriyas. He, i.e., Chakshusha, son of Ripu, generated from Pushkariṇī, Vāruṇee, the daughter of Prajāpati named Āraṇya, the famous Manu named Chakshusha knowing Dharma and Artha full well ॥ 90 ॥

I have ascertained the date of this Manu to be Kalpa Era 680, i.e., 2422 B.C. from the position of the planets at the beginning of his period (see paragraphs 368-71 of my book "The Astronomical Method, etc."). The period of Raivata Manu therefore must have ended in 680 Kalpa Era. It must have begun in Kalpa Era 448 on the presumption that the periods of the previous four Manus were four years each. The period of Raivata Manu therefore must have continued for about 232 years. Such a long period is possible only if automatically working laws fixing man's position in the Varnas, were in force. Those laws have already been pointed out in paragraphs 34-35 and they were probably promulgated by the Raivata Manu.

56. The period of the Chākshusha Manu, was 68 Yugas or 272 years, because the verse “वैवस्वतेन संख्यातः । तस्य सर्गो महात्मनः ॥ विस्तरेणानुपूर्व्या च” ॥ ६९ ॥ in Chapter 62 of “Vāyupurāṇa” says that the creation of Chākshusha Manu was equal to that of वैवस्वत मनु in length (विस्तरेण) and because the length of the period of Vaivaswata Manu is proved to be 68 Yugas by verses 459 and 460 of Chapter 99 of “Vāyupurāṇa” quoted in paragraph 53. Therefore the period of Vaivaswata Manu must have begun in 952 Kalpa Era, i.e., 2150 B.C. This is confirmed by the fact that Vaivaswata Manu was the grandson of a daughter of Daksha, the 9th descendant of Chākshusha Manu (see “Vāyupurāṇa”, Chapters 62 and 63 and Chapter 84, verses 31 and 37-38).

57. Vaivaswata Manu introduced a new factor in the Āryan Society of Brahmāvarta. He sent his son इक्ष्वाकु to colonize the country to the east of the Brahmāvarta.

The Rāmāyaṇa says:

कोशलो नाम सुदितः स्फीतो जनपदो महान् ।
निविष्टः सरयूतीरे प्रभूतधनधान्यवान् ॥ ५ ॥
अयोध्या नाम नगरी तत्रासील्लोकविश्रुता ।
मनुना मानवेद्रेण या पुरी निर्मिता स्वयम् ॥ ६ ॥

—बालकांड, सर्ग ६.

इक्ष्वाकुश्च मतोः सुतः । तमिक्ष्वाकुमयोध्यायां राजानं विद्धि पूर्वकम् ॥ २१ ॥

—बालकांड, सर्ग ७०.

Translation:—Kōśala is a very happy (सुदितः), prosperous (स्फीतः) and large country on the banks of Sarayū, rich in wealth and grain ॥ 5 ॥ There was in that country the famous city named Ayodhyā that was built by Manu himself, the lord of mankind ॥ 6 ॥ Ikshwāku is the son of Manu. He was the first (पूर्वकम्) King of Ayodhyā ॥ 21 ॥

This shows that Vaivaswata Manu colonized the country round Ayodhyā and made his son Ikshwāku, king of that country.

The “Vāyupurāṇa” says the following about the sons of Ikshwāku:

तस्य पुत्रशतं त्वासीदिक्ष्वाकोभूरिदक्षिणम् ॥ ८ ॥
तेषां ज्येष्ठोविकुक्षिश्च नैमिर्दंडश्च ते त्रयः ।
शकुनिप्रमुखास्तस्य पुत्राः पंचाशतास्तु ते ॥ ९ ॥
उत्तरापथदेशस्य रक्षितारो महीक्षितः ।
चत्वारिंशत्तथाष्टौ च दक्षिणायां च ते दिशि ॥ १० ॥
विंशतिप्रमुखास्ते तु दक्षिणापथरक्षिणः ॥ ११ ॥

—वायुपुराणे, अ. ८८.

अनुजस्य विकुक्षेस्तु निमेर्वशं निबोधत ।
 योसौ निवेशयामास पुरं देवपुरोपमम् ॥ १ ॥
 जयंतमिति विख्यातं गौतमस्याश्रमाभितः ॥ २ ॥
 नेमिर्नाम सुधर्मात्मा सर्वसत्त्वनमस्कृतः ।
 आसीत्पुत्रो महाराजा इक्ष्वाकोभूरितेजसः ॥ ३ ॥
 तस्यपुत्रो मिथिर्नाम ॥ ४ ॥
 मिथिर्नाम महावीर्यो येनासौ मिथिलाऽभवत् ॥ ६ ॥

—वायुपुराणे, अ. ८९.

Translation:—Ikshwāku had hundred sons who used to make large gifts ॥ १ ॥ The eldest of them were three Vikukshi, Nemi (Nimi) and Daṇḍa. Fifty of them headed by Śakuni were kings protecting the northern country and forty-eight sons headed by Viṃśati were protectors of the southern country ॥ 11 ॥, Chapter 88.

Hear the line of the descendants of Nimi the younger brother of Vikukshi—of Nimi who founded near the Āśrama of Goutama the city named Jayanta just like the city of the Devas ॥ 2 ॥ Nemi, the very dutiful and respected by all beings was the son of Ikshwāku of great prowess ॥ 3 ॥ His son Mithi was also a man of great prowess. It was on his account that the city Jayanta became Mithila ॥ 6 ॥

These passages show that Ikshwāku's son Nimi or Nemi as he is sometimes written in the Purāṇas founded another kingdom in Mithilā, i.e., Bihar.

Chapters 90 and 85 of the “Vāyupurāṇa” show that Purūravas was the son of the daughter of Vaivaswata Manu named Ilā by Budha son of Soma. The “Vāyupurāṇa” says about him:

एवं प्रभावो राजासीत् ऐलस्तु द्विजसत्तमाः ।
 देशे पुण्यतमे चैव महर्षिभिरलंकृते ॥ ४९ ॥
 राज्यं स कारयामास प्रयागे पृथिवीपतिः ।
 उत्तरे यामुने तीरे प्रतिष्ठाने महायशाः ॥ ६० ॥

—वायुपुराणे, अ. ९१.

Translation:—That son of Ilā, i.e., Purūravas, was a king of such prowess ॥ He ruled at Prayāga or Pratiṣṭhāna in the holy country adorned by Maharshis on the northern bank of the Yamunā ॥ 49-50 ॥

This passage shows that a grandson of Vaiwaswata Manu colonized and ruled the country north of Yamunā. Purūravas is the ancestor of the kings of Kurukshetra and other countries to the south-east of Kurukshetra.

All the historical facts, shown above, show that soon after Kalpa Era 952 or 2150 B.C. the Āryas founded new states to the south and east of Brahmāvarta. These new states must, at first until they grew in importance, have respectfully followed the lead and acknowledged the authority of Brahmāvarta, as the colonies of England do in the present day. Later on when these new states grew in importance they and the people therein must have vied with Brahmāvarta and people therein for honour and public authority and we shall see later on that this actually happened. The result of this envy was that the central authority controlling the whole society of the Āryas in India, became lost and extinct. The well-designed institutions of Manu, Saptarshis and Aśwamedha suffered the same fate and since then the Āryan Society itself is drifting to its final termination which can only be averted by reviving those institutions and their controlling authority.

58. We have seen in paragraph 53 that 28 Yugas of the period of Vaivaswata Manu had passed and 40 Yugas were to pass when the "Vāyupurāṇa" was written. That means that the period of Vaivaswata Manu was intended to be 68 Yugas or 272 years like that of the Chākshusha Manu. But that did not actually happen. The next Manu the Sāvarṇa Manu was appointed in Kalpa Era 1424 or 1678 B.C. This date is proved in the following way:

We have the following passages in "Vāyupurāṇa":

सांप्रतस्य भविष्यन्ति सावर्णस्यांतरे मनोः ॥ २० ॥

तेषामिंद्रो भविष्यस्तु बलिवैरोचनः पुरा ॥ २१ ॥

—वायुपुराण, अ. १००.

Translation:—(They will be) in the period of the present (सांप्रतस्य) Sāvarṇa Manu ॥ 20 ॥ Their Indra shall be ancient (पुरा) Bali son of विरोचन ॥ 21 ॥

The Bhāgavata says:

अष्टमैतर आयाते सावर्णिर्भविता मनुः ॥ ११ ॥

तेषां विरोचनमुतो बलिरिंद्रो भविष्यति ॥ १२ ॥

—स्कंध ८, अ. १३.

Translation:—When the eighth period arrives, Sāvarṇi will be the Manu || 11 || Bali, the son of Virochana, will be their Indra || 12 ||

These passages show that Bali, the son of Virochana, was the Indra in the eighth period of Sāvarṇa Manu. The date of Bali is proved by the following passage:

बलिसंस्थेषु लोकेषु त्रेतायां सप्तमे युगे ।

दैत्यैस्त्रैलोक्य आक्रान्तिं तृतीयो वामनोऽभवत् ॥ ७४ ॥

यजमानं तु दैत्यैर्द्रुमदित्याः कुलनन्दनः ।

द्विजोभूत्वा शुभे काले बलिं वैरोचनं पुरा ॥ ७५ ॥

(जगौ)

—वायुपुराणे, अ. *८; ब्रह्मांडपुराणे, पाद ३, अ. ७३.

Translation:—The third Avatāra Vāmana arose when (the powers of) all the public assemblies (लोकेषु) were vested in Bali in the 7th Yuga of Tretā and when the Daityas had captured all the three public assemblies. Vāmana, the son (कुलनन्दनः) of अदिति, assumed the form of a Brāhmaṇa (द्विजः) at an auspicious time and sang (जगौ) to Bali, son of Virochana, when that Indra of the Daityas was performing a sacrifice || 75 ||

This proves the date of Bali, son of Virochana, to be the 7th Yuga of Tretā, i.e., 1424–28 of the Kalpa Era. There were then two parties in the State that of the Daityas or Asuras and the Devas. The Devas ultimately overpowered the Daityas. Bali was a Daitya and Sāvarṇa Manu was appointed when Bali was Indra. However blessings have been prayed for, for this Manu after praising him for his donations and beneficent rule in R̥gveda, 10.62.8–11.

59. In the next Manvantara, four Manus were appointed for the four directions. In Bhagavadgeetā we find the expression “चत्वारो मनवः” in

महर्षयः सप्त पूर्वै चत्वारो मनवस्तथा ।

मद्भावा मानसा जाता यैषां लोक इमाः प्रजाः ॥ १६ ॥ —अ. १०.

Commentators have exercised their wits fruitlessly to find out the real meaning of this expression. The real meaning is that four Manus were appointed at one time and that the period of those four Manus was going on when Bhagavadgeetā was written. The “Vāyupurāṇa” also supports this conclusion by saying that these four Manus were born at one time. The “Vāyupurāṇa” says:

दक्षस्यकन्या धर्मिष्ठा सुव्रता नाम विश्रुता ।
 सर्वकन्या व(वि)शिष्टा तु श्रेष्ठा धर्मपरा सुता ।
 (वरिष्ठा) (ज्येष्ठा या वीरिणीसुता)
 गृहीत्वा तां पिता कन्यां जगाम ब्रह्मणोऽतिके ॥ ४२ ॥
 वैराजस्थमुपासीनं धर्मेण च भवेन च ।
 भवधर्मसमीपस्थं दक्षं ब्रह्माऽभ्यभाषत ॥ ४३ ॥
 दक्ष कन्या तवेयं वै जनयिष्यति सुव्रत ।
 चतुरो वै मनून् पुत्रान् चातुर्वर्ण्यकरान् शुमान् ॥ ४४ ॥
 ब्रह्मणो वचनं श्रुत्वा दक्षो धर्मो भवस्तदा ।
 तां कन्या मनसा जग्मुस्त्रयस्ते ब्रह्मणा सह ॥ ४५ ॥
 सत्याभिध्यायिनां तेषां सद्यः कन्या व्यजायत ।
 सदृशानुरूपांस्तेषां चतुरो वै कुमारकान् ॥ ४६ ॥
 संसिद्धाः कार्यकरणे संभूतास्ते श्रियान्विताः ।
 उपभोगसमर्थैश्च सद्योजातैः शरीरकैः ॥ ४७ ॥
 ते दृष्ट्वा तान् स्वयंनुद्धा ब्रह्मव्याहारिणस्तदा ।
 संरब्धा वै व्यकर्षत मम पुत्रो ममेत्युत ॥ ४८ ॥
 अभिधानान्मनोत्पन्नान् ऊचुस्ते वै परस्परम् ।
 योयस्य वपुषा तुल्यो भजतां स तु तं सुतम् ॥ ४९ ॥
 यस्य यः सदृशश्चापि रूपे वीर्यं च नामतः ।
 तं गृह्णातु सुभद्रं वो वर्णतो यस्य यः समः ॥ ५० ॥
 ध्रुवं रूपं पितुः पुत्रः सोनुरुद्धयति सर्वदा ।
 तस्मादात्मसमः पुत्रः पितुर्मातुश्च वीर्यतः ॥ ५१ ॥
 एवं ते समयं कृत्वा सवर्णान् जग्दुः सुतान् ।
 यस्मात्सवर्णास्तेषां वै ब्रह्मादीनां कुमारकाः ॥ ५२ ॥
 सवर्णा मनवस्तस्मात् सवर्णत्वं च तेषु तत् ।
 मननान्माननाच्चैव तस्मात्ते मनवः स्मृताः ॥ ५३ ॥

—वायुपुराणे, अ. १००.

Translation:—Daksha had a famous daughter named Suvratā who was distinguished from all other daughters (सर्वकन्याविशिष्टा) and who was the eldest daughter of वीरिणी. Daksha went with that daughter to Brahmā ॥ 42 ॥ attended upon by Dharma and Bhava (i.e., Rudra) and exercising his functions of being a विराट् (वैराजस्थम्). Then Brahmā said to Daksha standing near Dharma and Bhava ॥ 43 ॥ Oh Daksha, this daughter of yours, shall produce four sons who would be holy Manus originating four Varnas

॥ 44 ॥ Hearing these words of Brahmā, Daksha, Dharma, Bhava and Brahmā also copulated with that girl with their minds ॥ 45 ॥ For them whose meditation was always realized (सत्याभिध्यायिनः) the girl produced at once, i.e., at the same time (सद्यः) four sons similar (सदृश) and similar in appearance (अनुरूप) to them ॥ 46 ॥ They were born accompanied with dignity (श्रियान्विताः) efficient in doing their duty (संसिद्धाः कार्यकरणे) with bodies that were able to enjoy (उपभोगसमर्थैः) when just born (सद्योजातैः) ॥ 47 ॥ They (i.e., the Daksha, Dharma, Bhava and Brahmā) seeing them uttering Vedas (ब्रह्म) known by themselves without the help of others (स्वयंबुद्धा) became confused (not knowing who was whose son) and began to drag the sons created by mind by meditation (अभिध्यानान्मनोत्पन्नान्) saying "he is my son" "he is my son" ॥ 48 ॥ Then they said to each other, let him take that son who is similar to his body ॥ 49 ॥ May you obtain good fortune (सुभद्रवः). Let him take by giving him his name (नामतः गृह्णातु) that son who is similar to him in form, prowess, colour ॥ 50 ॥ A son surely always obtains the form of the father. Therefore a son is similar to the father and the mother in prowess ॥ 51 ॥ Having made this agreement they each took sons similar to them in colour; because those sons were similar in colour to Brahmā and others ॥ 52 ॥ Therefore they are Sāvarṇa Manus; because they had that similarity of colour; and they are Manus because they were thinkers (मननात्) and because they were respected (माननात्) ॥ 53 ॥

When rationalized this story only means that four Manus were appointed by Brahmā on the same day (सद्यः).

The following passage in the "Vāyupurāṇa" also supports the same conclusion:

समतीतास्तु ये तेषाम् अष्टौ षष्ठास्तथाऽपरे ।

पूर्वेषु सांप्रतश्चायम् शांतिवैवस्वतः प्रभुः ॥ ३७ ॥

—अ. १००.

The reading in "Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa" is:

समतीतास्तु ये तेषामष्टौ षट् च तथाऽपरे ।

पूर्वेषु सांप्रतश्चायम् शास्ति वैवस्वतः प्रभुः ॥ ३४ ॥

—ब्रह्मांडपुराणे, पाद ४, अ. १.

Translation:—Of the fourteen Manus eight are past and six are future (अपरे). The present Manu named Śānti Vaivaswata is lord amongst the Easterners (पूर्वेषु).

The word पूर्वेषु, *i.e.*, amongst the Easterners suggests that there were four Manus of four directions. That the statement relates to the ninth period of Manus is clear from the statement that eight Manus are past and from the adjective सांप्रतम्, *i.e.*, the present.

60. We shall now discuss the identity of the Manus subsequent to the seven Vaivaswata Manu, the identity of the first seven Manus being quite clear. The eighth Manu has been described in Chapter 84 of "Vāyupurāṇa" to be the son of Vivaswat from a woman who assumed the appearance of his wife संज्ञा and personated for her at her request. I infer that he was a son of a namesake of Vivaswat, the father of Vaivaswata Manu from a wife who was also the namesake of his wife Samjñā (संज्ञा). Another inference is also possible that the eighth Manu was a descendant of Vaivaswata Manu or his father Vivaswat. In both cases we cannot identify him with any one in the lines of descendants of Vaivaswata Manu given in the Purāṇas.

The subsequent six Manus are stated to be the descendants of Vaivaswata in clear words in the following passage of "Vāyupurāṇa":

समतीतास्तु ये तेषां अष्टौ षष्ठास्तथाऽपरे ।

(षट् च तथाऽपरे)

पूर्वेषु सांप्रतश्चायम् शांतिवैवस्वतः प्रभुः ॥ ३७ ॥

(शांति)

ये शिष्टास्तान् प्रवक्ष्यामि सहदेवर्षिदानवैः ॥ ३८ ॥

वैवस्वत निसर्गेण तेषां ज्ञेयस्तु विस्तरः ।

अनूना नातिरिक्तास्ते यस्मात्सर्वे विवस्वतः ॥ ३९ ॥

—वायुपुराणे, अ. १०० ; ब्रह्माण्डपुराणे, पाद ४, अ. १.

Translation:—Of the fourteen Manus eight are past and six are the future (अपरे). The present Manu named Śānti Vaivaswata is lord amongst the Easterners (पूर्वेषु) ॥ ३७ ॥ I shall describe those remaining with their Devas, Rishis and Dānavas ॥ ३८ ॥ Their extent (length) is to be known by that of the creation of Vaivaswata Manu; for they are all descendants of Vivaswat ॥ ३९ ॥

This shows that all Manus subsequent to the eighth are descendants of Vivaswat and may be found in the line of descendants of Vaivaswata Manu given in the Purāṇas. As a matter of fact three of them have been found out. One of them is the

son of Śeeghra the fifteenth descendant of Śree Rāma (see paragraph 388 of my book "The Astronomical Method, etc."). "Vāyupurāṇa" says:

अग्निवर्णस्य शीघ्रस्तु शीघ्रकस्य मनुःस्मृतः ।

मनुस्तुयोगमास्थाय कलापग्राममास्थितः ।

एकोनविंशप्रयुगे क्षत्रप्रावर्तकः प्रभुः ॥ २१० ॥

—वायुपुराणे, अ. ८८.

Translation:—The son of Agnivarna is Śeeghra. The son of Śeeghra is Manu. That Manu stayed at the town Kalāpa, having got great authority as a state functionary (योग) and (by virtue of this authority) he brought Kshatriyas into existence in the 19th Yuga (quaternary) of the second Dwāpara Yuga (of course), i.e., Kalpa Era 1772–76 or 1330–26 B.C. ॥ 210 ॥

This Manu must be one of the four Manus of the ninth Manvantara, already described. The thirteenth and fourteenth must be identified with Divākar and Suparṇa the 5th and 15th descendant of Śree Rāma's descendant Bṛihadbala killed in the Bhārata War by Abhimanyu they having been already proved to be Manus in the note to paragraph 36.

The dates of these Manus are already proved to be Kalpa Era 1992 and 2152, i.e., 1110 and 950 B.C.

Thus we know that at least three Manus were the kings of Ayodhyā. The Indra in the last Manvantara was the king Śuchī of Magadha of the line of Bṛihadhratha.

61. This shows that persons outside Brahmāvarta were then being appointed as Manus or Indras. This must have been the result of the growing importance and influence of the new Ārya States over Brahmāvarta.

62. The fourteenth and last Manu was appointed in Kalpa Era 2152 or B.C. 950. In the ordinary course another, i.e., fifteenth Manu would have been appointed in about 700 B.C. to 500 B.C. But Buddha was born in about 558 B.C. and died in 478 B.C. (see Paragraph 416 of my book "The Astronomical Method, etc.") and he introduced a new element of disruption in the Āryan Society, the envy amongst Brahmāvarta and the younger Ārya States being the older element of disruption. Buddha questioned the authority of the Vedas directly and

indirectly the authority of the Manus and the Saptarshis. The reaction to Buddha's objection to the authority of the Vedas was the claim that the Vedas were अमोक्ष्य or Divine and immutable, *i.e.*, man can make no changes in or additions to the Vedas. A deadening element was thus introduced. The result of all these causes was that no new Manu or Saptarshis were appointed after 950 B.C.

LECTURE VI

MANUS AND SAPTARSHIS

(Their Functions)

63. The functions of the Manu and the Saptarshis were three: (1) Redivision of Varnas, (2) Legislation and (3) Creation of the Vedas. These were very important functions that influenced the life and vitality of that Society.

64. Now about redivision of the Varnas. "Vāyupurāṇa" says:

सप्तर्षयो मनुर्देवाः पितरश्च चतुष्टयम् ।

मूलं मन्वंतरस्यैते तेषां चैवांतरे प्रजाः ॥ २० ॥

(चैवान्वयाः)

ऋषाणां देवताः पुत्राः पितरो देवसूनवः ।

ऋषयो देवपुत्राश्च इति शास्त्रविनिश्चयः ॥ २१ ॥

(शास्त्रे)

मनोः क्षत्रं विशश्चैव सप्तर्षिभ्यो द्विजातयः ।

एतन्मन्वंतरं प्रोक्तं समासाच्च तु विस्तरात् ॥ २२ ॥

—वायुपुराणे, अ. ६२ ; ब्रह्माण्डपुराणे, पाद २, अ. ३६.

Translation:—Saptarshis, Manu, Devas and Pitṛis, these four are the root (origin or beginning) of a Manvantara. The people are their descendants ||20|| The Devas are the sons of the Rishis. The Pitṛis the sons of the Devas ; and the Rishis themselves are the sons of a Deva. This is the decision of the Śāstra ||21|| The Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas arise from the Manu and the Brāhmaṇas (द्विजातयः) from the Saptarshis. This is Manvantara if we were to speak briefly without going into details ||22||

In plain language, this passage means that a Deva, i.e., the Brahmadeva or Brahmā as already shown in paragraph 25 selects and appoints the Saptarshis, that the Saptarshis select and appoint the Devas and that the Devas select and appoint Pitṛis and that the Pitṛis procreate their progeny and that Manu selected Kshatriyas and the Vaiśyas and that the Saptarshis selected the Brāhmaṇas, i.e., the Devas referred to above and that the progeny of the persons selected for any Varna was of that Varna. It should be noted in this respect that the Manu-putras mentioned in the description of each Manu, must be the Kshatriyas selected

by him in the same way as the Devas were the Brāhmanas selected by the Saptarshis. This is also proved by the verse :

स्वायंभुवस्यास्य मनोः दशैते वंशवर्धनाः ।

प्रतिसर्गमिमे कृत्वा जग्मुस्ते परमं पदं ॥ ५-६ ॥

—मत्स्यपुराणे, अ. ९.

Translation:—These ten sons of Manu (literally the enlargers of his family) went to the highest place after having made sub-creation, i.e., after selecting and adopting sons for themselves.

65. We have already proved in paragraph 33 that the creation of Brāhmanas and Kshatriyas referred to in the verse “मनोः क्षत्रं विशश्चैव, etc.” is not procreation but selection and separation. In the same way the Putras referred to in the verse “ऋषीणां देवताः पुत्राः, etc.” are not sons by procreation but they are really sons by selection and adoption. We have cited there i.e., in paragraph 33 for our authority,

वर्णानाम् प्रविभागश्च त्रेतायां संप्रकीर्तिताः ॥ ५९ ॥ —वायुपुराणे, अ. ५७.

Moreover the verse

“भूयः सप्तर्षयस्ते च उत्पन्नाः सप्त मानसाः ।

पुत्रत्वे कल्पितश्चैव स्वयमेव स्वयंभुवा ॥ १० ॥

—वायुपुराणे, अ. ६५.”

cited in paragraph 25, shows that Saptarshis were really sons of Brahmā by adoption. I shall now consider the following verse :

अत्र वो वर्तयिष्यामि विधिर्मन्वंतरस्य यः ।

इतरेतरवर्णस्य चातुर्वर्णस्य चैव हि ॥ ५६ ॥

—वायुपुराणे, अ. ५९.

Translation:—I shall here describe the acts to be done in a Manvantara, the method of putting a man of one Varna into another Varna (इतरेतरवर्णस्य) and the method of admitting into the fold of the four Varnas one from outside that fold (चातुर्वर्णस्य). This verse no doubt shows that a man of one Varna was taken into another Varna and also that a man outside the four Varnas was also taken into any of the four Varnas. But the exposition of the method of doing this, which is promised in this verse, is stated nowhere in the Purāṇa. It is clear that the portions of the Purāṇa describing this method have been omitted as being repugnant to the ideas of later days about the immutability and the hereditary nature of the Varnas. Though thus the method of transfer from one Varna to another is not expressly stated,

we have got the statement मनोः क्षत्रं विशश्चैव, etc., which being capable of double interpretation, was allowed to remain undisturbed. The change of the Varnas referred to in अत्र वो वर्तयिष्यामि, etc., cannot be by procreation; therefore the correct interpretation of “मनोः क्षत्रं विशश्चैव सप्तर्षिभ्यः, etc.” is that Manu selected Kshatriyas from men of other Varnas and Vaiśyas also in the same way and that Saptarshis selected Brāhmaṇas also in the same way. The orthodox interpretation that the Manu produced Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas by procreation and that the Saptarshis produced the Brāhmaṇas also by procreation, has already been proved to be wrong (*vide* paragraph 33).

66. The method of redivision of the Varnas, therefore, appears to be this: The Manu and the Saptarshis selected some men as Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas calling them their sons, the sons of Saptarshis being called Devas or Devatās. These sons in their turn selected others as Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas and called them their sons, Brāhmaṇa sons being called Pitṛis. These, now, in their turn increased the Varnas by procreation. Of course, in making this selection, the natural capacities of the selected as evidenced by their actual acts must have been taken into consideration. In this way the system of the Varnas was purified and rejuvenated at intervals, the shortest being of 160 years between the Manu Diwākara and the next Manu, and the longest being 472 years between Vaivasvata Manu and Sāvarṇa Manu.

67. And such rejuvenation is really necessary from several points of view: (1) the “Vāyupurāṇa” itself declares that on three occasions, *i.e.*, (i) in the first Tretā Yuga, (ii) in the interim of the Dwāpara, and (iii) at the end of the Kṛita Yuga (second) when the Tretā Yuga had begun, the Kshatriyas and the Brāhmaṇas did not exist,

(आद्ये त्रेतायुगे पुनः । द्वापरांशे न तिष्ठन्ति क्षत्रिया ऋषिभिः सह ॥

काले कृतयुगे चैव क्षीणे त्रेतायुगे पुनः ॥ ४४१ ॥ —वायुपुराणे, अ. ९९.

quoted and translated in paragraph 36) probably meaning thereby that there was no sufficient number of persons in the Brāhmaṇa and Kshatriya Varnas in those days. The insufficiency of the automatic law about change of the Varṇa must have caused such an insufficiency of numbers or the needs of the society may have increased. On such occasions it becomes necessary to

replenish the Brāhmaṇa and Kshatriya Varnas by adding to them suitable persons from the other Varnas; (2) nor can it be objected that suitable persons cannot be found in other Varnas. The natural capacities though generally inherited, also arise at times by what is called "spontaneous variation" or mutations and entitle a man to be transferred from one Varna to another, for such capacities are also inherited by his descendants. These facts are proved by the following quotations :

"From the evidence given in the preceding pages, it appears that the line between fluctuating variations and mutations may be sharply drawn. If we assume that mutations have furnished the material for the process of evolutions, the whole problem appears in a different light from that in which it was placed by Darwin when he assumed that the fluctuating variations are the kind which give the material for evolution.

"From the point of view of the mutation theory, species are no longer looked upon as having been slowly built up through the selection of individual variations, but the elementary species, at least, appear *at a single advance and fully formed*. This need not necessarily mean that great changes have suddenly taken place, and in this respect, the mutation theory is in accord with Darwin's view that extreme forms that rarely appear, "Sports" have not furnished the material for the process of evolution.

"As De Vries has pointed out, each mutation may be different from the parent form on only a slight decree for each point, although all the points may be different. *The most unique feature of these mutations is the constancy with which the new form is inherited*. It is this fact, not previously fully appreciated that De Vries's work has brought prominently into the foreground. The main difference between selection theory and the mutation theory is that one supposes these varieties to arise through selection of the individual variations, the other supposes that they have arisen *spontaneously and at once from the original form*"—"Evolution, Genetics and Eugenics" by H. H. Newman, page 325.

"On the whole it is clear that gene mutations altering the hereditary characteristics are much more frequent than had been supposed. Such heterogeneity of inherited characteristics as we find in a population of any species including man, arises therefore, even without crossing of diverse races, within

the limits of an "originally homogeneous race"—"The Biological Basis of Human Nature" by H. S. Jennings, page 320.

"By changes in the organization and materials of the genetic system, immense numbers of different types of organisms are produced. The very large majority of these are eliminated as a result of their lack of efficiency under the conditions. There is no reason for doubting that gene mutations occur in man, as they do in other organisms"—"The Biological Basis of Human Nature" by H. S. Jennings, page 324.

"Thus the typical doctrine of emergent evolution holds that new properties and modes of action appear when the steps are made from atoms to molecules, from simple molecules to complex ones, from inorganic to organic....."—"The Biological Basis of Human Nature" by H. S. Jennings, page 370.

"And if we are not to set arbitrary bounds to emergence, we may be led to admit with Ritter, that a particular human individual may be an emergent thing set off from all others, in some respects unique; a creature that is a law unto itself, not to be compressed into any general formula. From the acceptance of this, large consequences will be found to flow"—"The Biological Basis of Human Nature" by H. S. Jennings, page 375.

In these quotations we should note the words in *Italics* namely the words "at a single advance and fully formed-", spontaneously and "at once from the original form" and "The most unique feature of these mutations is the constancy with which the new form is inherited". They show first that change of Varna does not require several generations, one generation being sufficient, secondly that the descendants of the man whose Varna is changed would also be of the new Varna.

This shows that even in the Varnas, governed by the principle of heredity only, persons arise that deserve to be transferred to other Varnas. If such persons are not transferred to the Varna to which they deserve to be transferred and are forced to do the duties of their Varna by birth, both the society and the individual will suffer and dissatisfaction of the individuals will arise that will produce disturbances in the society. It is therefore always necessary and wise to transfer such deserving persons from their Varna by birth to the Varna to which they deserve to be transferred by virtue of their capacities.

(3) If the Varnas are governed by the principle of heredity alone, the Varnas degenerate into tribes or castes and regard themselves as separate from each other. This separatist tendency is very harmful to the interests of the society. This tendency can be best counteracted by transferring deserving persons from one Varna into another.

68. Now we shall consider the function of legislation. This function is described in the following passages :

पूर्वभ्यो वेदयित्वेह श्रौतं सप्तर्षयोऽनुवन् ।

ऋचो यजूंषि सामानि ब्रह्मणोऽंगानि च श्रुतीः ॥ ३१ ॥

मन्वंतरस्यातीतस्य स्मृत्वाचारं पुनर्जगौ ।

(मनुः)

तस्मात्स्मार्तः स्मृतो धर्मः वर्णाश्रमविभागजः ॥ ३२ ॥

स एष द्विविधो धर्मः शिष्टाचार इहेत्युच्यते ॥ ३३ ॥

मन्वंतरेषु ये शिष्टा इह तिष्ठन्ति धार्मिकाः ।

मनुः सप्तर्षयश्चैव लोकसंतानकारणात् ।

धर्मार्थं ये च शिष्टा वै यथातथ्यं प्रचक्षते ॥ ३४ ॥

मन्वादयश्च ये शिष्टा ये मया प्रागुदीरिताः ।

तैः शिष्टैश्चरितो धर्मः सम्यगेव युगे युगे ॥ ३५ ॥

त्रयीवार्ता दण्डनीतिः इज्यावर्णाश्रमास्तथा ।

(प्रजाः)*

शिष्टैराचर्यते यस्मान्मनुना च पुनःपुनः ।

पूर्वैः पूर्वगतत्वाच्च शिष्टाचारः स शाश्वतः ॥ ३६ ॥

दानं सत्यं तपोऽलोभो विद्येज्या प्रजनौ(नी)दया ।

अष्टौ तानि चरित्राणि शिष्टाचारस्य लक्षणम् ॥ ३७ ॥

शिष्टा यस्मिन्चरन्त्येनं मनुः सप्तर्षयश्च वै ।

मन्वंतरेषु सर्वेषु शिष्टाचारस्ततःस्मृतः ॥ ३८ ॥

—वायुपुराणे, अ. ५९; ब्रह्माण्डपुराणे, पाद २, अ. ३२;

मत्स्यपुराणे, अ. १४५.

Translation:—The Saptarshis declared by hearing from their predecessors the Śrouta Dharma (duties), i.e., the Rigveda, the Yajurveda, the Sāmaveda and the Vedāṅgas (ब्रह्मणोऽंगानि श्रुतीः). The Swāyambhuva Manu again declared the duties (आचार) of the Varnas and Āśramas by historical inference about those duties

* This is the reading in मत्स्यपुराणे, अ. १४५.

(आचार) in the past Manvantara and therefore the duties of the Varnas and the Āśramas are called Smārta Dharma || 32 || (See paragraphs 49 to 50). These two kinds of Dharmas are together called Śiṣṭāchāra || 33 || In all Manvantaras, the then existing (ये इह तिष्ठन्ति) educated (शिष्टाः) and dutiful (धर्मिकाः) men, i.e., Manus and Saptarshis being ordered to declare the Dharma (धर्मार्थं शिष्टाः) for the purpose of the continuity of the society (लोकसंतानकारणात्) declare what is the real thing (यथातथ्यम्) || 34 || The duties (धर्मः) practised by those authorized (शिष्टाः) men, i.e., the Manus and others previously mentioned by me is good in those several ages, i.e., the ages in which they live (युगेयुगे) || 35 || The moral philosophy in the three Vedas (त्रयी, some may understand this to mean the Yajña, but as the word इज्या also includes Yajña, the word त्रयी must be understood to mean the philosophy in the three Vedas, i.e., Upanishadic part of the Vedas, or accepting the reading “प्रजाः” given in मत्स्यपुराण in place of इज्या in वायुपुराण and ब्रह्माण्ड पुराण, we should interpret “त्रयी” to mean “Yajña” and moral philosophy” and “प्रजाः” to mean “progeny”. This is better for the spheres of Dharma whose objective is the continuity of the society must include “progeny”) the occupations for livelihood (वार्ता), the principles of punishment (दण्डनीतिः), worship, i.e., Yajña, or progeny (if the reading “प्रजाः” is accepted), Varnas and Āśramas. These are practised by old (पूर्वैः) Śiṣṭas, i.e., by Manus and Saptarshis again and again, i.e., always because they are practised by their predecessors (पूर्वगतत्वाच्च) and therefore that is the immutable practice of the Śiṣṭas (शिष्टाचार) || 36 || Gifts, truth, abstinence from pleasures non-avarice, knowledge, worship, procreation (the correct reading should be प्रजनी. See Apte's Dictionary) and kindness are the eight practices (चरित्रानि) that characterise (लक्षणं) Śiṣṭāchāra || 37 || Because the authorized men, i.e., the Manus and Saptarshis in all periods of Manus practise it, it is known as the practice of the Śiṣṭas (शिष्टाचार) || 38 ||

This passage clearly states the following points: (1) That Manus and Saptarshis were appointed to declare Dharma (धर्मार्थं शिष्टाः), i.e., to legislate; (2) That the objective of the Dharma was the continuity of the society (लोकसंतानकारणात्), (3) That what they declared and practised consisted of two parts, the Śrouta Dharma and Smārta Dharma both together being called Śiṣṭāchāra. This means that they legislated in respect

of both the Dharmas ; (4) That they declared Dharma in accordance with what was real (यथातथ्यं), i.e., they declared that to be Dharma, which they thought would really conduce to the continuity of the society and of course not that which was declared in any book; (5) That this Dharma told by the Manu and Saptarshis changed from age to age.

Note.—Though this is not expressly stated, it follows from the recommendation embodied in सम्यगेव युगेयुगे, that this Dharma changed from age to age; for otherwise there was no necessity of such a recommendation.

It is clear that advance in knowledge and change of circumstances, necessitate changes in the Dharma and it is also clear that the followers of Truths (यथातथ्यम्) must have seen that changes in the Dharma are necessary. And in fact the purpose of declaring the Dharma again and again in every Manvantara can be no other than that of declaring the changes that had become necessary by the time. The Purāṇas themselves declare in the following passage that the Vedas themselves change from age to age as the Dharma changes. This passage is found in the "Vāyupurāṇa", Chapter 57, verses 48-49, in "Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa," Pada 2, Chapter 29, verses 53-54 and in "Matsya Purāṇa", Chapter 142, verses 48-49. The reading in the "Matsya Purāṇa" appears the most correct. It is this :

ऋषयस्तपसा वेदानहोरात्रमधीयते ।

अनादिनिधना दिव्याः पूर्वं प्रोक्ताः स्वयंभुवा ॥ ४८ ॥

स्वधर्मसंवृताः सांगा यथाधर्मं युगेयुगे ।

विक्रियन्ते स्वधर्मतु वेदवादाद्यथोयुगम् ॥ ५ ॥

This only requires a little correction namely that we ought to read सधर्मस्तु for "स्वधर्मतु". Thus corrected it means:

The Rishis with great concentration of mind (तपसा) study (i.e., repeat by heart) the Vedas (of course with the object that every word or letter of the same may not be changed or lost (But their attempts are fruitless ; for, though) the Vedas formerly pronounced by Swayambhū have no beginning or end and are Divine, they change (विक्रियन्ते) from age to age as the Dharma changes (यथाधर्मं) being compelled by their inner property of changing (स्वधर्मसंवृताः) and the Dharma also changes from age to age as stated by the Vedas themselves (वेदवादात्).

A similar statement is made in the "Mahābhārata". It is this:

वेदवादाश्चानुयुगं हसंतीति ह नः श्रुतम् ॥ ७ ॥

अन्ये कृतयुगे धर्माः त्रेतायां द्वापरे परे ।

अन्ये कलियुगे चैव यथाशक्तिकृता इव ॥ ८ ॥

—शांतिपर्व, अ. २६०.

Translation:—We hear that the injunction of the Vedas (वेदवादाः) decline in the ages subsequent to those in which they are made (अनुयुगम्), i.e., those injunctions are useless and not binding in the subsequent ages. For the Dharmas in Kṛita, Tretā, Dwāpara, and Kali are different, they being as it were dependent upon the strength of mān (यथाशक्ति कृता इव). All this shows that Manu and Saptarshis changed the Dharma whenever they found it necessary ; (6) That the six divisions of the sphere of the Dharma, namely त्रयी, etc., remain unchanged (शाश्वत), i.e., we cannot exclude any of these six from the sphere of the Dharma ; (7) That in laying down rules under these six headings, we have to stick to the eight principles, gifts, etc. ; (8) That Manus and Saptarshis make changes in the Dharma, sticking to the six divisions and eight principles. This is the purport of the statement when considered as a whole.

There are other passages having the same meaning as verses 31 to 38 of Chapter 59 of the "Vāyupurāṇa". They are as follows :

ततस्तेषां तु ये शिष्टाः शिष्टाचारान् प्रचक्षते ।

सप्तर्षयो मनुश्चैव आदौ मन्वंतरस्य ह ॥

प्रारभन्ते च कर्माणि मनुष्याः दैवतैः सह ॥ १६४ ॥

—वायुपुराणे, अ. ६१.

Translation:—Then those of them that are ordered to declare Dharma (शिष्टाः), i.e., the Manu and the Saptarshis, declare Śiṣṭāchāras in the beginning of the period of the Manu and then the ordinary men (मनुष्याः) and public functionaries (दैवतैः सह) begin actions (of course according to the Śiṣṭāchāras declared by them).

तेषां सप्तर्षयो धर्मं कथयन्ती (त्यं) तरेषु च ॥ १०६ ॥

—वायुपुराणे, अ. ५८.

Translation:—Saptarshis declare Dharma to them (तेषां) in all periods of the Manu (अन्तरेषु ; इतरेषु gives no meaning. अन्तरेषु seems to be the correct reading : anyhow the statement that Saptarshis declare Dharma is clear).

मन्वंतरेषु सर्वेषु सप्त सप्त महर्षयः ।

कृत्वा धर्मव्यवस्थानं प्रयांति परमं पदम् ॥ ३१ ॥

—मत्स्यपुराणे, अ. ९.

Translation:—In all the Manvantaras, the great seven Rishis, having determined the Dharma, go to the highest place.

तस्मान्न वाच्यमेकेन बहुज्ञेनापि संशये ।

बहुद्वारस्य धर्मस्य सूक्ष्मा दूरतरा गतिः ॥ ३३ ॥

तस्मान्न निश्चयाद् वक्तुं धर्मः शक्यस्तु केनचित् ।

देवानृषीनुपादाय स्वायंभुवमृते मनुम् ॥ ३४ ॥

—ब्रह्माण्डपुराणे, पाद २, अ. ३०.

There is a similar passage in “Vāyupurāṇa”, Chapter 57, verses 112-13.

Translation:—Therefore when there is doubt about the Dharma, one man should not say anything about it. For the movement of the Dharma that has many doors in invisible and distant, i.e., many things enter into the consideration of the Dharma and hence the Dharma is difficult to be seen and understood ||33|| Therefore the Dharma cannot be declared with certainty by anybody other than Swāyambhuva Manu acting conjointly with (उपादाय) the Devas and the Rishis || 34 ||

This passage shows that it was the authority of the Manus, Saptarshis and Devas conjointly to declare Dharma. We know that Devas also are public functionaries. The mention of Swāyambhuva Manu cannot mean that other Manus had not got that authority. His name is mentioned only because the period of Swāyambhuva Manu was going on when the event about which these remarks were made, took place.

The following passage says that the Pitris also had got a part in legislative authority.

अथ देवाश्च पितरः ऋषयश्चैव मानुषाः ।

अयं धर्मोऽह्ययं नेति ब्रुवते मौनमूर्तिना ॥ २६ ॥

—मत्स्यपुराणे, अ. १४५.

Translation:—Now the Devas, Pitris and Rishis pertaining to the Manu (मानुषाः) say this is Dharma and this is not Dharma by that whose essence (मूर्ति) is silence or thinking (मौन). The meaning of the word “मौनमूर्तिना” is not clear. It may mean “without speaking” or “after thinking”. Whatever that be, it

is clear that the Devas, Pitaras, and Rishis in each period of Manu, had legislative authority.

I have already quoted in paragraph 5, a passage that shows that Manu and Saptarshis had legislative authority. I shall now quote from the Vedas themselves a passage that shows that any persons appointed for the purpose have authority to settle and declare Dharma, *i.e.*, to legislate. The passage is this:

“अथ यदि ते कर्मविचिन्ता वा वृत्तविचिन्ता वा स्यात् ॥ ३ ॥ ये तत्र ब्राह्मणाः संमर्शिनः युक्ताः आयुक्ताः ॥ अलक्षः धर्मकामाः स्युः यथा ते तत्र वर्तेरन् ॥ तथा तत्र वर्तेथाः । अथाभ्याख्यातेषु । ये तत्र ब्राह्मणाः संमर्शिनः युक्ताः आयुक्ताः ॥ अलक्षः धर्मकामाः स्युः यथा ते तेषु वर्तेरन् ॥ तथा तेषु वर्तेथाः । एष आदेशः ॥ एष उपदेशः ॥ एषा वेदोपनिषद् ॥ एतदनुशासनं ॥ एवमुपासितव्यम् ॥ एवमुचैतदुपास्यम् ॥

—तैत्तिरीयोपनिषद्, शिक्षावल्ली, अनुवाकः ११.

Translation:—If you have any doubt about the goodness or badness of any act (कर्म) or a custom (वृत्त) behave like Brāhmaṇas who are dutiful (धर्मकामाः) and uncovetous, who think (संमर्शिनः) with concentrated mind (युक्ताः) and who are appointed for declaring Dharma (आयुक्ताः). If you have doubt about acts or customs told in the Vedas (अभ्याख्यातेषु) do the same ॥ This is the command; this is the advice. This is the secret essence of the Vedas (उपनिषद्). This is the law: One should worship the Creator in this way: This (Brahma) should be worshipped in this way ॥

The most important word in this passage is “अभ्याख्यात्” and its meaning is in dispute. Śree Śaṅkarāchārya and others take it to mean “a man who has been accused of any offence”. But here there is no necessity of telling how to behave with such a man after stating a general proposition about all sorts of behaviour (acts). Therefore this meaning of अभ्याख्यात् though popularly accepted, conventional and traditional (रूढ) does not fit in here. We have therefore to accept its derivative or etymological meaning which is “that which has been told”. But told where? Of course, ‘told in the Vedas’; for we are here concerned with the Vedas alone. As it is the subject of the Vedas to enjoin acts and duties, the question naturally arises whether the rule given before, applies also to acts and duties enjoined in the Vedas which have been held in great reverence by all and are thought to be absolutely authoritative. To this the Vedas

themselves think it necessary to give a reply and give it in the passage beginning with अथाभ्याख्यातेषु. This reply is that even in respect of acts and duties enjoined by the Vedas, the opinion of Brāhmaṇas authorized to declare Dharma is to be followed ; this means that such Brāhmaṇas can even override the commands of the Vedas and this is quite logical, for the Vedas themselves are only commands of similar persons of ancient times. All this then means that such men have absolute authority of legislation.

Āpastamba says in his "Dharmasūtras":

न धर्माधर्मौ चरत आवं ख इति । न देवगंधर्वाः न पितर इत्याचक्षतेऽयं धर्मोऽयमधर्म इति ॥ ६ ॥ यं त्वार्याः क्रियमाणं प्रशंसन्ति स धर्मोऽयं गृह्यते सोऽधर्मः ॥ ७ ॥

—प्र. १, पटल ७, खंड २०.

Translation:—Dharma and Adharma do not roam about saying "we are Dharma and Adharma. Nor do Devas, Gandharvas or Pitṛis declare this is Dharma and this is Adharma ॥ 6 ॥ But the real fact is that "that is Dharma which Āryas praise being done (क्रियमाणं) and that is Adharma which Āryas censure" ॥ 7 ॥

For understanding this passage, it should be noted that the Devas and Pitṛis mentioned are not the public functionaries mentioned in the verse "अथ देवाश्च पितरः, etc., quoted above but imaginary super-human beings supposed to have superior knowledge. It should also be noted that the Āryas mentioned here are the same as the युक्ताः आयुक्ताः संमशिनः ब्राह्मणाः in the passage in तैत्तिरीयोपनिषद् quoted above beginning with "अथ यदि ते कर्मविचिकित्सा."

The "Jaimineeya Dharma-Sūtras" are of the same opinion. They say :

"लोके सन्नियमात्प्रयोगसंनिकर्षः स्यात् ॥ १.१.२६ ॥

Translation:—In worldly affairs (लोके) the collection of authoritative commands (प्रयोगसंनिकर्षः) should be obtained (स्यात्) from the decision of the virtuous and the learned (सन्नियमात्).

The "Jaimini Sūtras" have been a prey to the unnatural, illogical and unrealistic interpretation of Śabarswāmī, the leader of the orthodox school. I have written a book named जैमिन्यथे-दीपिका to expose the fallacies and errors of his interpretation. I cannot give all my arguments here for want of space and time. I shall state briefly the reasons for rejecting Śabara's interpretation of this Sūtra.

(1) Śābara has distorted this Sūtra as “लोके संनिकर्षात् सन्नियमः प्रयोगः स्यात्” and then interpreted it. This fact is stated by Kumarila-bhaṭṭa in verse 55 in his commentary on the 1st sentence of Śābara's Bhāṣya. (2) The word सन्नियम used here must have the same meaning here as it has in the Sūtras “प्रयोगशास्त्रमिति चेत्” || 1. 3. 11 || and “नासन्नियमात्” || 1. 3. 12 || where the authoritative-ness of प्रयोगशास्त्र or कल्पसूत्र's is discussed. The cause of authoritativeness decided in the first Pāda, must have been made use of in Sūtras 11 and 12 of the third Pāda. Therefore the word “सन्नियम” must have the same meaning in both places.” The decision of the *learned* and the *virtuous* is the only meaning that fits in both places. (3) In Sūtra “नासन्नियमात्”, Śābara takes the word “असन्नियम” to mean “absence of accents” (न एतत्सम्यङ् निबन्धनं स्वराभावात्). It is quite illogical to suppose that the unauthoritativeness of the Kalpasūtras is caused by the absence of accents. On the contrary it is quite logical to hold that the Kalpasūtras are unauthoritative because the *learned* and the *virtuous* have not decided in favour of their authoritativeness. (4) In the Sūtra औत्पत्तिकस्तु चाद्वयार्थेन संबधः, etc. || 1. 1. 5 || Jaimini says that “words alone can be the means of knowing “चोदनालक्षण धर्म”, i.e., Dharma of the form of Commandments “He does not mean that all words are such a means of knowledge of Dharma. Therefore he must mention some limitation or qualification by which such authoritative words can be known, and “लोके सन्नियमात्प्रयोग संनिकर्षः स्यात्”, is the only Sūtra where such a limitation or qualification can be found and the decision of the *learned* and the *virtuous* is the only reasonable limitation or qualification. Of course these *learned* and *virtuous* men must also be those appointed by the proper authority. Jaimini may even have meant the Saptarshis by the word “सत्” or he may have meant generally any *learned* and *virtuous* men authorized and appointed to declare Dharma.

All the passages quoted above show that the Manu and Saptarshis had legislative function.

69. Now what was the book in which this legislation was embodied? It was the book then called “Manusmṛiti”. The oldest Smṛiti now extant is “Goutama Smṛiti” the date of which has been proved by me to be 613 B.C. or 2489 Kalpa Era at the earliest, in paragraph 433 of my book “The Astronomical Method, etc.” i.e., the Tretā of the third revolution of the Yugas. This

Smṛiti refers to "Manusmṛiti" in the Sūtra "त्रीणि प्रथमान्यनिर्देशा-
नीति मनुः" ॥ ७ ॥ (अ. २१). It of course does not refer to the present
"Manusmṛiti" edited by Bhrigu; for this "Manusmṛiti" refers
to the "Goutama Smṛiti" itself by the name "Utathyatanaya"
(उत्तथ्यतनय) in the verse "शूद्रावेदी, etc." (3-16). Moreover the
present "Manusmṛiti" refers to sentences 54 and 55 of
Chapter II of "Vasishṭhasmṛiti" in 8-140-142, and the "Vasishṭha-
smṛiti" in turn refers to "Manusmṛiti" in several places, namely
1-16, 3-2, 20-20, 4-6. But the "Vasishṭha Smṛiti" refers to
"Goutamasmṛiti" twice in Chapter 4. This can be explained
only by supposing that an earlier edition of the "Manusmṛiti"
existed before Goutama. This is confirmed by the famous verses
in "Parāśara Smṛiti" कृते तु मानवाधर्माः । त्रेतायां गौतमाः स्मृताः ॥ which
shows that before Tretā the age of Goutama, i.e., in the Kṛita,
"Manusmṛiti" was existing. Whether it existed in the form of
Sūtras or in the form of verses, is a point that is of no importance,
though it is hotly disputed and is fully discussed by Mahā-
mahopādhyāya Prof. Kāṇe in his book on "History of Dharma-
śāstra", Vol. I, pages 79-85.

The Mahābhārata too, refers to "Manusmṛiti" in Śāntiparva,
Chapter 21: "एवं धर्मं प्रधानं मनुः स्वायंभुवोऽब्रवीत् ॥" and in Chap-
ter 58: "सहस्राक्षो महेंद्रश्च तथा प्राचेतसोमनुः ॥" and in Chapter 57
"प्राचेतसेन मनुना श्लोकौ चेतामुदाहृतौ ॥" and in Chapter 335 "अस्मात्प्रवक्ष्यते
धर्मान् मनुः स्वायंभुवः स्वयम् ॥" In "Taittiriya Samhita" also we find
the following reference to Manu. "यद्वै किञ्चिन्मनुर्वदत् तद्भेषजं"
कांड २, प्रपाठक २, अनुवाक १० ॥ २ ॥ All this proves the existence of a
work by Manu long before the age of "Gautama Smṛiti". It
must, of course, have embodied the legislation by the Manu and the
Saptarshis. It was clearly different from the extant "Manusmṛiti"
which appears to have been written during the reign of Pushya-
mitra Śunga certainly after the Mourya kings, from its condem-
nation of Śūdra rule in IV-61 and of Śūdra Judges in VIII. 20-21.
I shall quote a passage from Mahamahopādhyāya Prof. Kāṇe's
"History of Dharmaśāstra" in support of this. It is this: "Long
before the 4th century B.C., there was a work on Dharmaśāstra
composed by or attributed to Swāyambhuva Manu. This work
was most probably in verse. There was also another work on
Rājadharmā attributed to Prācetasā (प्राचेतस) Manu, i.e., the
वैवस्वतमनु which was also prior to the 4th century B.C. It is not
unlikely that instead of there being two works, there was one

comprehensive work embodying rules on Dharma as well as politics.... It is to these works or work that Yāska, Gautama, Baudhāyana and Kautilya refer whenever they cite the opinions of Manu or the Mānavas. The Mahābhārata also particularly in the earlier portions refers to the same. This work was the original kernel of the present "Manusmṛiti". Then between 2nd century B.C. and the 2nd century A.D. the "Manusmṛiti" was finally recast, probably by Bṛigu (बृगु). That work must have compressed the older works in some cases and expanded it in others" (pages 155-56).

70. The relation of this primary "Manusmṛiti" to the Smṛitis now extant must be properly understood. This primary "Manusmṛiti" being a book embodying the legislation of the Manu and the Saptarshis, had absolute independent authority equal to that of the Śrutis or the Vedas. Kullukabhaṭṭa in his commentary on the 1st śloka of Chapter I quotes the following verse from Mahābhārata

पुराणं मानवो धर्मः सांगो वेदश्चिकित्सितं ।

आज्ञासिद्धानि चत्वारि न हंतव्यानि हेतुभिः ॥

Translation:—The Purāṇa, the "Dharmaśāstra of Manu", the Veda with its Aṅgas, and medicine, these four have arisen (come into existence) from command and they should not be disregarded by advancing arguments. This verse regards the authority of "Mānava Dharmaśāstra" as equal to that of the Vedas and says that the authority arises from command, of course, from the command of the Manu and the Saptarshis. This must of course refer to the primary "Manusmṛiti". Thus the authority of the primary "Manusmṛiti" was independent and absolute. It is thus that Brihaspati says:

वेदार्थोपनिबन्धत्वात्प्राधान्यं हि मनोः स्मृतम् ।

मन्मर्थविपरीता तु या स्मृतिः सा न शस्यते ॥

(quoted by Kullukabhaṭṭa in his commentary of the first verse of the extant "Manusmṛiti").

Translation:—The "Manusmṛiti" is the chief Smṛiti; for it embodies the meaning of the Vedas. No Smṛiti that is opposed to the meaning of the "Manusmṛiti" is praiseworthy of course this really applies to the primary "Manusmṛiti". But the other Smṛitis beginning with Gautama, including even the extant "Manusmṛiti", stand on a different basis. They were not made

by the Manu and the Saptarshis and could not claim the absolute authority of the primary "Manusmṛiti". In fact such smṛitis could not be written so long as the institution of the Manu and the Saptarshis was remembered and was not forgotten; for as the "Vāyupurāṇa" rightly says in "तस्मान्न निश्चयाद्वक्तुं धर्मः शक्यस्तु केनचित् । देवाचृषीनुपादाय स्वायंभुवमृते मनुं" quoted in paragraph 68, that nobody except the Manu and the Saptarshis can declare dharma with certainty. Thus there were no Smṛitis other than the primary "Manusmṛiti" before the days of "Gautamasmṛiti" and the Goutama "Smṛiti" and others following it, though wrongly called Smṛitis, are not really Smṛitis but only commentaries upon the Vedas and the primary "Manusmṛiti" and only purport to interpret the Vedas and the primary "Manusmṛiti". It is true that under guise of the fiction of interpretation, they have often changed the old law but that was the necessary result of the non-existence of any constitutional authority like the Manu and the Saptarshis that had authority to change the law. The institution of the Manu and the Saptarshis being forgotten, there was no authority that thoughtfully changed the law. Changed circumstances, however, changed the practices of the people and these practices were incorporated in the new Smṛitis that came into existence from time to time in different parts of the country. This is the cause of the differences between the extant Smṛitis. The word Smṛiti was wrongly applied to them or we may say that the word Smṛiti itself underwent a change in its meaning, and it began to be said that the authority of the Smṛitis is not absolute but is dependent upon that of the Vedas and that they are not authoritative if they are opposed to the Vedas. This will make clear the relation between the primary "Manusmṛiti" and the extant Smṛitis.

71. Now I shall discuss the merits of the legislative institution described above that is the Manu and Saptarshis. I think the institution is so full of merits that it ought to be imitated even in this rationalistic modern age in all parts of the world. I shall discuss these merits one by one.

The first merit is that this legislative body consisted of only a few men. Men having the capacity for the work of legislation are really very few in any nation. Therefore if a legislative body is formed of a large number of men, the work of the few capable

men in it will be hampered by the many incapable persons therein. In a large body no body feels the responsibility of arriving at a correct decision and every body relies upon others. In a large assembly no body can think with calm and concentrated mind. To avoid these difficulties a sub-committee is often appointed in these days, to think and suggest a decision. Therefore, a legislative body of a large number of men is no good. On the contrary a single man authorized to legislate is also no good ; for the several aspects of a question may not be seen by a single man. It is very aptly said in “ तस्मान्न वाच्यमेकेन बहुज्ञेनाऽपि संशये । बहुद्वारस्य धर्मस्य सूक्ष्मादुरनुगा गतिः ॥ ” quoted in paragraph 68, that there are many aspects to a question and that therefore a single man cannot arrive at the correct decision. Therefore, a legislative body should not consist of a single man nor of a large number of men but of a few selected capable men. The number eight adopted by the ancient Āryans was presumably a very suitable number in those days.

The second and the most important merit is that the Saptarshis were selected from an artificial class of men whose duty it was to be poor, virtuous and learned and the Manu was selected from a class of men that governed. We have seen in paragraph 46 that it was the duty of a Brāhmaṇa, to study and to teach all sciences and to be content with the bare necessities of life. The former duty must develop his intelligence and the latter his virtues. A man tells lies and deceives others for acquiring wealth, but if he is compelled to remain contented with the bare necessities of life, there is no incentive for him to lie or to deceive others. A Brāhmaṇa was thus capable of knowing the truth by his intelligence (यथार्थज्ञाता) and of speaking the truth as known by him (यथार्थवक्ता) and these are the qualifications of a legislator. Selection from the Brāhmaṇa class was, therefore, a guarantee that the legislator had these qualifications. The addition of a member of the governing class to this body of legislators, is a great advantage. He can point out any difficulties in enforcing any law and also act as a check upon the selfishness of the Brāhmaṇa class. The Rishis also can act as a check upon the selfishness of the Kshatriya class. We thus get legislation that is beneficial to the whole society.

The third merit is that every decision was arrived at by unanimity of votes and not by majority. This is quite clear from

the words “तैरेकमतिभिर्भूत्वा यत्प्रोक्तं शास्त्रमुत्तमं” in the passage cited in paragraph 51. Āpastamba also says “अथातः सामयाचारिकान् धर्मान् व्याख्यास्यामः । धर्मज्ञसमयः प्रमाणम् । वेदाश्च ॥ १.१.१.१-३ ॥” which when correctly translated mean “I shall now describe the Dharmas, the practice (आचार) of which is based upon unanimity of opinion (समय). The unanimity of opinions of those who know Dharma is authoritative. And the Vedas are authoritative (because of this unanimity of opinions”.

Unanimity of opinion is the only practicable test of truth. No better test can be devised. The Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa Vyāsa also lay down this test in the Sūtras “शास्त्रयोनित्वात्तत् तु समन्वयात् ॥ १.१.३-४ ;” which if correctly translated mean “we shall get knowledge about Brahma from agreement amongst thinkers, i.e., the unanimity of the opinion of thinkers (समन्वयात्) because that agreement or unanimity is the origin of all sciences”. The axioms in geometry or any other science are based upon unanimity of opinion. It is therefore a great merit of the institution of the Manu and Saptarshis that any decision that was arrived at was arrived at by unanimous voting.

The fourth merit is the objective of the legislation. The objective was as shown by the word “लोकसंतानकारणात्” in the passage quoted in paragraph 68, the “continuity of the society”. The six divisions of the sphere of Dharma, namely त्रयी, वार्ता, दण्डनीति, etc., and also the eight principles that are to be stuck to, namely दान, सत्य, etc., given in the same passage also show that continuity of the society was the objective of the legislation by the Manu and Saptarshis. That is certainly a great merit ; because that gives us a definite and correct method of knowing Dharma. Moreover there can be no continuity of the society “without the well-being of the society” and the well-being of the society, is alone, the best guarantee for the well-being and the happiness of the individuals in the society. It may be objected that if the continuity of the society be taken as the objective of legislation, happiness of the individual after his death remains uncared for. To this, we find, a very appropriate reply in the following passage in the “Mahābhārata”.

इमे वै मानवाः सर्वे धर्मं प्रति विशंकिताः ।

कोऽयं धर्मः कुतो धर्मस्तन्मे ब्रूहि पितामह ॥ १ ॥

धर्मस्त्वयमिदार्थः किम् अमुत्रार्थोपि वा भवेत् ।

उभयार्थोऽपि वा धर्मस्तन्मे ब्रूहि पितामह ॥ २ ॥

.. ..
.. ..
.. ..

लोकयात्रार्थमेवेह धर्मस्य नियमः कृतः ।

उभयत्र सुखोदकं इह चैव परत्र च ॥ ५ ॥

*Translation:—*All these men have doubts about Dharma. What is this Dharma? Whence has this Dharma arisen? Oh, grandfather, tell this to me. Tell me, Oh grandfather, if the objective of Dharma pertains to this existence or world, *i.e.*, world before death (इहार्थः) or to the other existence or world, *i.e.*, world after death or to both.

Bhīṣhma replied.....

“The rule of Dharma has been made (enacted) for the maintenance of the life of the people or society in this world (इह). This Dharma however, results in the happiness in both worlds, in this world and in the other world.”

Here taking for granted the reality of the other world, *i.e.*, world after death, it is stated that though the objective of Dharma pertains to this world, it results in happiness in the other world also. It is not within our province to see if there are any sound reasons to support this statement. We have only to note that such was the attitude of the ancient Āryas to the other world and that therefore they could say without any hesitation that the objective of Dharma was the continuity of the society (लोकसंतान). (The students should refer to the essay धर्म आणि परलोक in my book धर्मविवादस्वरूप.)

This discussion clearly shows the superiority of the institution of the Manu and the Saptarshis over all other legislative institutions devised hithertofore.

72. Now I shall describe the third function of the Saptarshis, *i.e.*, the creation of the Vedas. The “Vāyupurāṇa” says:

प्रतिमन्वंतरं चैव श्रुतिरन्या विधीयते ।

ऋचो यजूंषि सामानि यथावत्प्रतिदैवतम् ॥ ५६ ॥

आभूतसंज्ञवस्थायि वज्रैकं शतरुद्रियम् ।*
 विधिहोत्रं तथा स्तोत्रं पूर्ववत्संप्रवर्तते ॥ ५७ ॥
 मन्वन्तरेषु सर्वेषु यथा देवा भवन्ति ये ।
 प्रवर्तयति तेषां वै ब्रह्मा स्तोत्रं चतुर्विधं ॥ ५९ ॥
 एवं मंत्रगुणानां तु समुत्पत्तिश्चतुर्विधा ।

(मन्त्रगणानां)

अथर्वयजुषां साम्नां वेदेध्विह पृथक् पृथक् ॥ ६० ॥

(अथर्वयजुषां)

ऋषीणां तप्यतामुग्रं तपः परमदुश्चरम् ।

मन्त्राः प्रादुर्बभूवुर्हि पूर्वमन्वन्तरेध्विह ॥ ६१ ॥

—वायुपुराणे, अ. ५९ ; ब्रह्मांडपुराणे, पाद २, अ. ३२ ;

मत्स्यपुराणे, अ. १४५.

* *Note.*—This line is not found in “Matsyapurāṇa”. It is not clear whether this line is to be connected with the previous verse or with the next line and hence I have omitted it in translation.

Translation.—In every period of the Manu (the original period of Manu was of four years) another Śruti, i.e., Riks, Yajush, and Sāmāns are made for every Devata ॥ 56 ॥ But Vidhi (the ceremonial), Hotra (the Mantras of the oblation) and Stotra (the prayer to be sung in Saṅgēḍeta at the time of the oblation ?) remain the same as before ॥ 57 ॥ The Brahmā promulgates (प्रवर्तयति) the Stotra of four kinds for those Devas that come into existence in all the periods of the Manu ॥ 59 ॥ In this manner, there arise in four ways the groups of Mantras. (I think the correct reading for “अथवे” is “अथर्चाम्” : for the 56th verse does not say that the Mantras of अथर्ववेद are newly created in every period of Manu.) Now the Mantras of Riks, Yajush and Sāmāns in separate Vedas arose here in the ancient periods of Manus, when the Rishis, i.e., the Saptarshis practised severe penance difficult to practise ॥ 61 ॥

This passage clearly says that new Mantras of the Rīgveda, Yajurveda and Sāmaveda were created in every period of the Manu. It also says that the new Mantras arose (प्रादुर्बभूवुः) by virtue of the penance of the Rishis. The Rishis not being particularized must be the famous seven Rishis and their penance must be the exercise of their official function. A list of the poets who composed the Mantras is given at the end of 59th chapter of the “Vāyupurāṇa” and at the end of the 145th chapter of the “Matsyapurāṇa”. That list contains 92 poets who composed the Mantras (मन्त्रकृतः) and is said to be exhaustive

(एवं मंत्रकृतः सर्वे कृत्स्नश्च निबोधत). But that list does not contain the names of all the Saptarshis that we know. We have therefore to conclude that the function of the Saptarshis was not to compose the Mantras but to sanction their use in the Yajña and their inclusion in the Vedas. This is supported by the statement in the “अग्निपुराण” that the Saptarshis who are Brāhmaṇas by Varna (द्विजाः) promulgate the Vedas (प्रवर्तयन्ति वेदांश्च भुवि सप्तर्षयो द्विजाः ॥ २१, अ. १५०).

That the new Mantras were promulgated in every Yuga (i.e., a period of 4 years) is also proved by the following Mantra in R̥gveda.

युगेयुगे विदथ्यं गृणद्भ्योऽग्नि रयिं यशसं धेहि नव्यसीम् ॥ मं. ६, सू. ८, ऋ. ५.

Translation:—Oh Agni, give wealth (रयि) useful for Yajña (विदथ्यम्) and give fame to us who sing new praises (नव्यसी, स्तुति is understood) in every Yuga.

That the Mantras in old period of Manu were not to be used in the new period of Manu, is shown by the following verse in the “Vāyupurāṇa”:

मन्वंतरे परावृत्ते स्थानान्युत्सृज्य सर्वशः ।

मंत्रैः सहोर्ध्वं गच्छन्ति महर्लोकमनामयम् ॥ १६९ ॥

—वायुपुराणे, अ. ६१.

Translation:—When the period the Manu terminates (परावृत्ते) the Manu and Saptarshis vacate all their offices (स्थानानि) and go above to the happy assembly named Mahar (महर्लोकम्) with the Mantras “Going with the Mantras” suggests that the Mantras used in the previous period of the Manu, could not be used in the next period of Manus and that therefore new Mantras were to be composed. Thus this also supports the proposition that new Mantras were composed in every period of the Manu or Yuga, i.e., the period of four years. It was the function of the Saptarshis to sanction these Mantras as already shown. The Yajña in which these new Mantras were used will be described in another lecture hereafter in paragraph 87.

73. In conclusion, I have to suggest that the institution of the Manu and the Saptarshis, was an extraordinary institution, well devised to keep up the life, vigour and happiness of the society and to perpetuate it, and that it is the abandonment of that institution in later days that is responsible for our degeneration in every respect.

LECTURE VII

ĀSĀRAMAS

74. Man's life can be naturally divided into three periods, namely, (1) period of growth, (2) the period of work, and (3) the period of retirement. It is the duty of the legislator to so guide a man through these stages that he will get the greatest happiness for himself and also contribute his best to the continuity and well-being (welfare) of the society. This lecture will show that the Indian Legislators of old times, have discharged this duty very satisfactorily.

75. The first period, namely, that of growth, is named ब्रह्मचर्याश्रम, the second, namely, the period of work, is named गृहस्थाश्रम, while the period of retirement appears under three garbs, namely, वानप्रस्थाश्रम, संन्यासाश्रम and संप्रदानाश्रम. I shall first describe the duties of these five as found in the extant authorities.

76. The first four Āsāramas have been briefly described in the following passage of the "Vāyupurāṇa".

दारामयोऽथातिथेय इज्या श्राद्धक्रियाः प्रजाः ॥ १८१ ॥

(थातिथयः)

इत्येष वै गृहस्थस्य समासाद् धर्मसंग्रहः ।

दण्डी च मेखली चैव ह्यधःशायी तथा जटी ॥ १८२ ॥

गुरुशुश्रूषणं भैक्ष्यं विद्यार्थे(र्थो) ब्रह्मचारिणः ।

(विद्यार्थी)

चीरपत्राजिनानि स्युः धान्यमूलफलौषधम् ॥ १८३ ॥

उभे संध्येऽवगाहश्च होमश्चारण्यवासिनाम् ।

आसनमुसले भैक्ष्यम् अस्तेयं शौचमेव च ॥ १८४ ॥

अप्रमादोऽव्यवायश्च दया भूतेषु च क्षमा ।

अक्रोधो गुरुशुश्रूषा सत्यं च दशमं स्मृतम् ॥ १८५ ॥

दशलक्षणकोट्येष धर्मः प्रोक्तः स्वयंभुवा ।

भिक्षोः व्रतानि पंचात्र पंचैवोपव्रतानि च ॥ १८६ ॥

—वायुपुराणे, अ. ८ ; ब्रह्माण्डपुराणे, अ. ७, पाद २.

Translation:—Wife, Fires, Guests, Yajña, Śrāddha ceremonies and progeny ॥ 181 ॥ This is a brief statement about the duties of a house-holder (गृहस्थ). Wearing a staff, wearing a girdle, sleeping on the ground (this really means celibacy), keeping his

hair uncut, || 182 || service of the preceptor, begging of food and study for the sake of knowledge (विद्यार्थ)—these are the duties of a Brahmachārin. Clothes of barks and skins (अजिन), food of grains, roots, fruits and herbs (*i.e.*, vegetarian diet) || 183 || both the Sandhyas (*i.e.*, the prayers in the morning and evening), bathing three times and offering oblations to the fire both morning and evening are the duties of dwellers of forest, *i.e.*, of Vānaprasthas. Begging of food after the pestle (मुसल) has stopped working (this really means after people have taken their food—see Manu, 6. 56), not stealing, *i.e.*, not possessing more than what one needs absolutely, cleanliness, || 184 || correct knowledge (अप्रमादः), abstinence from the sexual act, kindness to living beings, forgiveness, giving up of anger, service of the preceptor and truth the tenth || 185 || Swayambhū has told this Dharma of ten characteristics. Here are mentioned the five Vratas (rules of conduct) and five sub-rules of a Bhikshu or Samnyāsin || 186 ||

Other additional rules are also given in other works with regard to these Āśramas. I will give the most important of those.

Vaśishṭha says:

न फालकृष्टमधितिष्ठेत् ॥ २ ॥ अकृष्टं मूलफलं संचिन्वीत । ऊर्ध्वरेताः क्षमा-
शयः ॥ ३ ॥ मूलफलभैक्ष्येणाश्रमगतमतिथिमभ्यर्चयेत् ॥ ४ ॥ दद्यादेव न प्रतिगृह्णी-
यात् ॥ ५ ॥ अध्याय ९.

Translation:—He should not stand on (*i.e.*, maintain himself by) food obtained by cultivation || 2 || He should store roots and fruits that arise without cultivation. He should sleep on the ground and observe celibacy || 3 || He should worship the guest that comes to his Āśrama by giving him alms of roots and fruits || 4 || He should give but should not accept anything || 5 ||

About Samnyāsins Vaśishṭha says:

संन्यसेत्सर्वकर्माणि वेदमेकं न संन्यसेत् ।
वेदसंन्यासनाच्छूद्रस्तस्माद्वेदं न संन्यसेत् ॥ ५ ॥
अनित्यां वसतिं वसेत् ॥ ८ ॥ अध्याय १०.

Translation:—He should abandon all duties; Vedas alone he should not abandon; for one becomes a Śūdra by abandoning the Vedas || 5 || He should not have a permanent residence || 8 ||

The following is the rule as to when any of the four Āśramas can be taken to. Vaśishṭha says:

चत्वार आश्रमाः ब्रह्मचारिगृहस्थवानप्रस्थपरिव्राजकाः ॥ १ ॥ तेषां वेद मधीत्य वेदौ वा वेदान् वाऽविशीर्णं ब्रह्मचर्यो यमिच्छेत्तमा वसेत् ॥ २ ॥ अध्याय ७.

Translation:—There are four Āśramas (1) The Brahmachārin, i.e., the Naishṭhika Brahmachārin, i.e., Brahmachārin to the end of life; (2) Gṛihastha or house-holder; (3) The forest dweller; (4) Pariwrāt or the wanderer, i.e., the Saṁnyāsin ॥ 1 ॥ A man who has observed strict celibacy and studied one, two or three Vedas may take to any of these four Āśramas.

Thus according to this passage a man can remain a Brahmachārin to the end of his life, and can become a Saṁnyāsin even in his youth immediately after Brahmacharya. But this is not authoritative as the following discussion shows.

77. I shall now describe the संप्रदान. It is described in कौषीतकी उपनिषद्, Chapter 2, Khaṇḍa 10 and in बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्, Chapter I, Brāhmaṇa 5, Khaṇḍas 17-20 under the name संप्रति which has the same meaning as संप्रदान both being derived from the root दा. Kausheetakee says: अथातः पितापुत्रीयं संप्रदानमिति चाचक्षते । पिता पुत्रं प्रेष्यन्नावहयति । नवैस्तृणैरागारं संस्तीर्याग्निमुपसमाधायोदकुंभं सपात्रमुपनिधायान्नहतेन वाससा संप्रच्छन्नं ह्यत एव पुत्र उपरिष्टादभिनिष्पद्येत, इन्द्रियैरस्येन्द्रियाणि संस्पृश्यापि वास्याभिमुखत एवासीत । अथास्मै संप्रयच्छति—वाचं मे त्वयि दधानीति पिता, वाचं ते मयि दध इति पुत्रः । चक्षुर्मे त्वयि दधानीति पिता चक्षुस्ते मयि दध इति पुत्रः । श्रोत्रं मे त्वयि दधानीति पिता, श्रोत्रं ते मयि दध इति पुत्रः । मनो मे त्वयि दधानीति पिता, मनस्ते मयि दध इति पुत्रः । अक्षरसान् मे त्वयि दधानीति पिता, अक्षरसांस्ते मयि दध इति पुत्रः । कर्माणि मे त्वयि दधानीति पिता, कर्माणि ते मयि दध इति पुत्रः । सुखदुःखे मे त्वयि दधानीति पिता, सुखदुःखे ते मयि दध इति पुत्रः । आनन्दं रतिं प्रजातिं मे त्वयि दधानीति पिता, आनन्दं रतिं प्रजातिं ते मयि दधे इति पुत्रः । इत्या मे त्वयि दधानीति पिता, इत्यास्ते मयि दध इति पुत्रः । धियो विशातव्यं कामान् मे त्वयि दधानीति पिता, धियो विशातव्यं कामांस्ते मयि दध इति पुत्रः । अथ दक्षिणावृत् उपनिष्कामति तं पितानुमंत्रयति—यशो ब्रह्मवर्चसमन्नायं कीर्तिस्त्वा जुषतामिति । अथेतः सव्यमंसमन्ववेक्षते पाणिनांतर्धाय वसनांतेन वा प्रच्छाद्य स्वर्गान् लोकान् कामानवाप्नुहीति । स यद्यगदः स्यात् पुत्रैश्वर्यं सुखं वसेत् परि वा व्रजेत् । यद्यु वै प्रेयात् (प्रव्रजेत्) यथैवैनं समापयति तथा समापयितव्यो भवति ॥ १० ॥

Translation:—Now is being told what is called “handing over (संप्रदानं) to the son by the father”. A father whose death is approaching, calls his son. Having strewn the house with new

grass and having consecrated fire and having placed nearby a water-vessel with its lid (सपात्रं) covered with new cloth, the father comes there and the son comes there afterwards and sits with his organs touching the father's organs or facing the father. Then the father hands over to the son thus: "Let me put my speech in you" says the father. "I put thy speech in me" says the son. "Let me put my sight in you" says the father. "I put thy sight in me" says the son. "Let me put my hearing in you" says the father. "I put thy 'hearing' in me" says the son. "Let me put my mind in you" says the father. "I put thy mind in me" says the son. "Let me put my tastes in you" says the father. "I put thy tastes in me" says the son. "Let me put my 'duties' in you" says the father. "I put thy duties in me" says the son. "Let me put my happiness and pain in you" says the father. "I put thy happiness and pain in me" says the son. "Let me put my joy, sexual act and procreation in you" says the father. "I put thy joy, sexual act and procreation in me" says the son. "Let me put my walking in you" says the father. "I put thy walking in me" says the son. "Let me put my curiosities (चिन्तयो विज्ञातव्यम्) and desires in you" says the father. "I put thy desires and curiosities in me" says the son. Then the son walks around the father keeping the father to his right and the father blesses him: "May success, splendour of the knowledge of Brahma, food and other necessities of life, and fame approach you". Then the son looks at the left shoulder (of the father) and having covered it with his palm or the end of his garment, says "may you obtain Swarga Loka and all desires". Then if the father has no disease, he should live happily enjoying the affluence of his son or should go out and wander about. If he goes out, the son should finish him as he finishes him, i.e., he should perform his obsequies supposing him to be dead.

Now "Bṛihadāraṇyaka" says:

अथातः संप्रतिर्यदाप्रेष्यन् मन्यतेऽथ पुत्रमाह त्वं ब्रह्म त्वं यज्ञस्त्वं लोक इति स पुत्रः प्रत्याहाहं ब्रह्माहं यज्ञोऽहं लोक इति यद्वै किञ्चानूक्तं तस्य सर्वस्य ब्रह्मेत्येकता । ये वै के च यज्ञास्तेषां सर्वेषां यज्ञ इत्येकता ये वै के च लोकास्तेषां सर्वेषां लोक इत्येकता एतावद्वा इदं सर्वमेतन्मा सर्वं सन्नयम् इतोऽभ्युनजत् इति, तस्मात्पुत्रमनुशिष्टं लोक्य-माहुस्तस्मादेनमनुशासति; स यदैवंवित् अस्माल्लोकात्प्रैति अथ एभिरेव प्राणैः सह पुत्रमविशति; स यद्यनेन किञ्चिदक्षया अकृतं भवति तस्मादेनं सर्वस्मात् पुत्रो

सुंचति तस्मात्पुत्रोनाम स पुत्रेणैवास्मिन् लोके प्रतितिष्ठति अथैनमेते दैवाः प्राणाः
अमृता आविशन्ति ॥ १७ ॥

पृथिव्यै चैनमग्रेथ दैवीवागाविशति सा वै देवीवाक् यथा यद्यदेव वदति तत्त-
द्भवति ॥ १८ ॥ दिवश्चैनमादित्याच्च दैवं मन आविशति तद्वै दैवं मनो येनानंदेव
भवति अथो न शोचति ॥ १९ ॥ अद्भ्यश्चैनं चंद्रमसश्च दैवः प्राण आविशति स वै
दैवः प्राणोयः संचरंश्चासंचरंश्च न व्यथते अथो न रिध्यति स एवंविद् सर्वेषां
भूतानामात्मा भवति ; यथैषादेवता एवं स ; यथैतां देवतां सर्वाणि भूतान्यवन्ति एवं
हैवंविदं सर्वाणि भूतान्यवन्ति यदुर्किंचेभ्यः प्रजाः शोचन्ति अमैवासां तद्भवति पुण्यमे-
वासुं गच्छति न ह वै देवान् पापं गच्छति ॥ २० ॥

—बृहदारण्यक., अ. १, ब्राह्मण ५.

*Translation:—*Now, I shall describe Sampratti, i.e., handing over by father to son. When the father thinks that this death is approaching him he says to the son "You are Brahma, You are Yajña, You are Loka." The son replies "I am Brahma, I am Yajña, I am Loka. Brahma includes all that has been studied (अनूक्तम्). Yajña includes all Yajñas and Loka includes all Lokas. This is all (that is to be done) and I have taken it upon myself (मां संनयम्). You shall now stay here (इतः) and shall protect the whole society including me" (अभुनजत् भवान्; भवान् is to be understood. अभुनजत् is irregular form of लब्ध् and is used in the sense of लब्ध् as there is not any strict rule in the Vedas) says the son. Therefore, an educated son is called Lokya, i.e., good for Lokas, i.e., one who procures Lokas for the father. Therefore, a father educates his son. When a father knowing this goes away from this world, he enters his son with these organs (प्राणैः) of his; and the son also releases his father from all that has been left undone by him (अकृतं) by mistake (अक्षण्या). Therefore he is called पुत्र, i.e., one who protects from the hell named पुन्. The father stands firmly in this world on account of this son. Now after this Sampratti, these divine Prāṇas (lives or organs) that bring on joy (अमृता), namely speech, mind and vitality enter the father ॥ 17 ॥ From the Earth and the Fire, the Divine Speech enters him; that is Divine Speech by which whatever is said comes about true, i.e., he does whatever he says ॥ 18 ॥ From the Heavens and the Sun, the Divine Mind enters him; that is Divine mind by which a man is always joyful and never bewails ॥ 19 ॥ From Water and the Moon, the Divine Vitality enters him; that is Divine Vitality by which a man while working for himself (संचरन्) or while working

for others (आसंचरन्) does not feel pain and does not feel exhausted, i.e., is ever ready and willing to work for himself and others. One who knows this (i.e., acts according to this) becomes the Soul of all living beings; he is as is this Devata, i.e., the Prāṇa. As all beings protect the Devata, i.e., Prāṇa in the same way they protect the man who knows this (i.e., acts according to this). Whatever these people (प्रजाः) bewail of, that remains with them. Only Punya or happiness goes to him. Pāpa or Sorrow does not go to the Devas, i.e., wise men like him || 20 ||

These two passages enjoin upon a man having a son, to transfer all his responsibilities to his son in his old age. After this transfer three possibilities are contemplated. The father may die immediately and then no question about what he should do arises. If however the father is healthy (अगदः) he may live with his son and enjoy his hospitality or he may wander away. But the passages do not enjoin his abandonment of all activities. On the contrary he is to protect his son and the society from harm.

This description shows that this is quite different from Saṃnyāsa. Because first, this is to be resorted to only by those who have a son. Secondly, it is to be resorted to only in the old age. Thirdly, in this there is an option to stay with the son or to wander away and fourthly, abandonment of all activities is not enjoined in this. In the Saṃnyāsa, on the contrary, a son is not necessary, old age also is not required, wandering from place to place is a necessity, and all activities are to be abandoned. Vyāsa, the author of the "Brahmasūtras", does not regard this Āśrama even as an Āārama. This is clear from Sūtras 3. 4. 36-38 where this Āśrama is referred to as अंतरा, i.e., without any Āśrama. That this Āśrama is referred to by the word अंतरा is shown by the Sūtra विशेषानुग्रहश्च भवति (a special favour is shown to him) which can only be a reference to the words "अथैनमेते देवाः प्राणाः अमृता आविशन्ति || १७ || पृथिव्यैचैनमग्नेश्च देवीवागाविशन्ति, etc., || १८-२० || etc., in the "Bṛihadāraṇyaka" quoted above. Moreover Sūtra 37, "अपिचस्मर्यते" can refer only to "Manusmṛiti" by Bhṛigu, Chapter 4, verse 257.

(महर्षिपितृदेवानां गत्वानृण्यं यथाविधि ।

पुत्रे सर्वं समासज्य वसेन् माध्यस्थ्यमाश्रितः ॥

Translation:—Having duly paid off the debts of Maharshis, Fathers and Devas by study of the Vedas, procreation of sons

and performance of Yajñas, he should put all responsibilities on his son and dwell with his son as an indifferent person) and to "Manusmṛiti" by Bṛigu, Chapter 6, verse 95

(संन्यस्य सर्वकर्मणि कर्मदोषानपादुन् ।

नियतो वेदमभ्यस्य पुत्रैश्वर्यं सुखं वसेत् ॥

Translation:—Having abandoned all activities to avoid all faults attached to all acts but studying and teaching the Vedas regularly, he should reside in his son's house enjoying his son's affluence (verses which only repeat what is said in the passages of "Kausheetakee" and "Bṛihadāraṇyaka" quoted above).

Vyāsa advises in the Sūtra "अंतराक्षपि तदृष्टेः ॥ ३.४.३६.

Translation:—"Even in an Āśramaless condition, a man should combine acts (कर्मणि) and knowledge (ज्ञान) as suggested in the Sūtra सर्वथाऽपि त एवोभयलिङ्गात्, ३.४.३४., because we find in the Vedas that both were resorted to by men like याज्ञवल्क्य in the Āśramaless condition and because we find in the words "इतोऽभुनजत्" in "Bṛihadāraṇyaka," 1.5.17, that a father is to protect the whole society including his son even after संप्रप्ति (or transfer of responsibilities) that even in an Āśramaless condition a man should keep up activities mentioned in Sūtras 3.4.27, 28 and 32. Such activities would, of course, be those that support his or other's lives and advance his or other's knowledge and conduce to the welfare of the society as a whole.

Thus we see that in the condition that results after Sampratti or Sampradāna, whether we regard it as an Āśrama or not, one is not debarred from doing activities, rather he is enjoined to do activities that are beneficial to the society as a whole. This is clear from the activities of Yājñavalkya and Śree Śaṅkarācārya who worked for advancing knowledge of the society as a whole.

78. Which of these Āśramas described above, did the Indian Āryas devise and when? The Brahmacharya and the Gārhaṣṭhya are natural Āśramas existing in every society. We cannot say they were devised. But we can say that the Naishthika Brahmacharya, the Vānaprastha, the Saṃnyāsa and the Sampradāna Āśramas were devised. We can also say that duties of all these Āśramas were defined. It appears that the duties of the Āśramas were defined by the Brahmā Ānanda himself and following him by Swāyambhuva Manu (see the passage त्रेतायुगस्यादौ, etc., quoted in paragraph 31). The duties of which Āśramas were defined by Brahmā and Swāyambhuva Manu? Which Āśramas

were enjoined or allowed by Ānanda Brahmā and Swāyambhuva Manu and which Āśramas were interdicted by them? In this respect the following passage in "Baudhāyana Smṛiti" is very important.

ब्रह्मचारी गृहस्थो वानप्रस्थः परिव्राजक इति ॥ १७ ॥ ॥ २८ ॥
 एकाश्रम्यं स्वाचार्याः अप्रजननत्वादितरेषाम् ॥ २९ ॥ तत्रोदाहरन्ति ॥ ३० ॥
 प्राह्लादिर्ह वै कपिलोनामासुर आस स एतान् भेदांश्चकार देवैः स्पर्धमानस्तान्मनीषी
 नाद्रियेत ॥ ३१ ॥ अदृष्टवान् ॥ ३२ ॥ प्रश्न. २, अ. ६.

Translation:—There are four Āśramas: (1) The Brahmachārī for life; (2) The Gṛihastha or house-holder; (3) The Vāna-prastha or the forest dweller; and (4) Parivrājaka or the wanderer ॥ 17 ॥ But the Āchāryas say that there is only one Āśrama, i.e., the house-holder; for, the others do not procreate children ॥ 29 ॥ A story is told about this ॥ 30 ॥ There was an Asura named Kapila, the son of Prahlāda. He devised these Āśramas that are different from the Āśrama of the Gṛihastha, to excel the Dēvas. An intelligent man should have no regard for those Āśramas ॥ 31 ॥ Because they are not seen in the Vedas ॥ 32 ॥

This passage clearly states that the three Āśramas: (1) the Brahmachārī for life, (2) the forest-dweller, and (3) the wanderer were devised by Kapila, son of Prahlāda. Prahlāda was the third Indra of the Asura party and the term of his office must have ended either by death or by defeat by the Dēvas, i.e., the other party in Kalpa Era 1452, i.e., 1650 B.C. (See paragraph 379 of my book "The Astronomical Method, etc."). This shows that these three Āśramas were not devised or described by Ānanda Brahmā or Swāyambhuva Manu and that the Āśramas enjoined by them were only (1) Brahmacharya till completion of study or attaining of full youth, (2) House-holder's Āśrama, and (3) Sampradāna Āśrama.

This story of Baudhāyana is not unreliable for as already suggested, man's life can be divided into only three periods, namely growth, work and retirement and in the days of Ānanda Brahmā and Swāyambhuva Manu when population was very scanty, there was no necessity of Āśramas that did not procreate. On the contrary increased population specially of superior sort of men was a great necessity. It is therefore very probable that Ānanda Brahmā and Swāyambhuva Manu enjoined and described only these three Āśramas just mentioned and did not describe

the Āśramas of the Brahmachārī for life, of the forest-dweller and of the wanderer or the Saṃnyāsee, Āśramas that would mislead only superior sort of men to desist from procreation. It may be objected that Saṃnyāsāśrama was known in the days of Ānanda Brahmā, for his adopted sons Sanaka, Sanandana and Sanātana are said to have died without procreating children in the passage quoted in paragraph 7. The reply is "It may have been known but it does not follow from this that it was recommended or enjoined by Ānanda Brahmā or Swāyambhuva Manu."

The earliest known Smṛiti, the "Gautama Smṛiti" also supports Baudhāyana. It says:

तस्याश्रमविकल्पमेके ब्रुवते ॥ १ ॥ ब्रह्मचारी गृहस्थोभिधुर्वैखानसः ॥ २ ॥
एकाश्रम्यं त्वाचार्यः प्रत्यक्षविधानात् गार्हस्थ्यस्य ॥ ३६ ॥ अध्याय ३.

Translation:—For him who has completed his study at the preceptor's place, some enjoin an option to take to any of the four Āśramas, namely, Brahmachāree for life, house-holder, forest-dweller or the wanderer ॥ 1-2 ॥ But our Āchārya says that only one Āśrama, i.e., the Āśrama of the house-holder is enjoined upon; because it is the only Āśrama that is directly enjoined upon in the Vedas ॥ 36 ॥

As a matter of fact, the Upanishads enjoin directly only the Āśrama of the house-holders in "Chhāndogya", Chapter VIII, Khaṇḍa 15 ("वेदमधीत्य कुटुंबे") staying in the family after studying Vedas and in "Taittīreya Śeeksha Valli", Anuvāka 11 (प्रजातंतुं मान्यवच्छेत्सीः) do not break the line of progeny). There is no such direct command about any other Āśrama anywhere.

There are, of course, references to other Āśramas but they are only references and not commands. Jaimini also is said to advocate the same in the "Vyāsa-sūtra":

"परामर्शं जैमिनिरचोदना चापवदति हि ॥ ३.४."

Translation:—Jaimini says that in the Vedas there are only references about Āśramas other than that of the house-holder; for the Vedas blame those who do not take to the Āśrama of the house-holder.

References to the other Āśramas were the natural result of the fact that in spite of the injunction of the Vedas many men took to these Āśramas since they were designed by Kapila. I shall now examine these references and show that they are only references and not commands.

The most important reference is "Chhāndogya" in 2/23. It is as follows:

"त्रयोधर्मस्कंधा यज्ञोऽध्ययनं दानमिति प्रथमः तप एव द्वितीयः ब्रह्मचार्य-
चार्यकुलवासी तृतीयोऽत्यंतमात्मानमाचार्यकुले अवसादयन् । सर्व एते पुण्यलोकाः
भवन्ति ब्रह्मसंस्थोऽमृतत्वमेति ।"

"*Translation*:—" There are three modes of "dutiful life" (धर्मस्कंधाः). The first is that consisting of Yajña, study and gifts, i.e., the Āśrama of the house-holder. The second is abstinence from pleasures of the senses, i.e., the Āśrama of the forest-dweller. The third is the Āśrama of the Brahmachārī who resides in the family of the preceptor and who wastes or exhausts himself completely in the family of his preceptor. All these attain happy worlds. But any one of these who stays in Brahma attains perpetual bliss." The part of the passage subsequent to this means that the ॐ, i.e., the Brahma is the essence of the three Vedas. The whole passage is therefore clearly intended to enjoin "Staying in Brahma" and to impress this command by showing the inferiority of the fruit obtained from these three Āśramas (this fruit being happy worlds that have termination) to the fruit of staying in Brahma, that is perpetual bliss. There is thus no command here about these three Āśramas but only a reference to show their inferiority to staying in Brahma. Nor does this "Staying in Brahma" mean the Āśrama of the wanderer or Saṃnyāsee as Śree Śaṅkarāchārya takes it to mean. His argument is that a man in any of these three Āśramas cannot "Stay in Brahma" and that only a man in the Āśrama of the wanderer can stay in Brahma (ब्रह्मसंस्थ इति हि ब्रह्मणि परिसमाप्तिः अनन्यव्यापारतारूपं तन्निष्ठत्वमभिधायिते । तच्च त्रयाणामाश्रमाणां न संभवति स्वाश्रम-विहितकर्माननुष्ठाने प्रत्यवायश्रवणात् । परिव्राजकस्य तु सर्वकर्मसंन्यासात्प्रत्यवायो न संभवति अनुष्ठाननिमित्तः ॥ in भाष्य on "Vyāsasūtra", 3.4.20.) But this is wrong. A man can "Say in Brahma" also even while staying in any of these three Āśramas and doing acts peculiar to these three Āśramas, as is rightly pointed out in "Manu-smṛiti", Chapter 12, verse 102:

वेदशान्त्रार्थतत्त्वज्ञो यत्रतत्राश्रमे वसन् ।

इहैव लोके तिष्ठन् स ब्रह्मभूयाय कल्पते ॥ १०२ ॥

Translation:—A man who knows the essence of the meaning of the Vedas, becomes Brahma, even in this life, though he may be staying in any Āśrama whatsoever.

What "Manusmṛiti" says here, is quite true; for "staying in Brahma" only means keeping up an attitude of Samatā, *i.e.*, equanimity, equity and equality as pointed out in the verse of "Bhagavadgeetā":

इहैव तैर्जितः सर्गो येषां साम्ये स्थितं मनः ।

निर्दोषं हि समं ब्रह्म तस्माद् ब्रह्मणि ते स्थिताः ॥ १९ ॥

—अध्याय ५.

and this can be done while doing any act peculiar to any of the three Āśramas. Thus in this passage there is no command about any of the four Āśramas.

Then we have two passages in "Bṛihadāraṇyaka", 3.5.1 and 4.4.22. These passages say that "Men knowing Brahma give up desire for sons, wealth and popularity and beg"

(पुत्रैषणायाश्च विद्वद्देषणायाश्च लोकैषणायाश्च व्युत्थाय अथ भिक्षाचर्यं चरन्ति).

Though the verb "चरन्ति" is in the present tense, it can be construed as an imperative mood, the passage being in the Upanishad which is part of a Brāhmaṇa wherein the present tense can be construed as an imperative mood according to "Jaimini Sūtras", 2.1.30-34. But we cannot construe it here like that as an imperative mood and understand that there is here a command for Saṃnyāsāśrama; for "Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad" is a part of the "Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa" and "Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa" is the Brāhmaṇa of Śukla Yajurveda and in "Īśopanishad" which is a part of Śukla Yajurveda, a man is enjoined to be active till the end of his life in

कुर्वन्नेवेह कर्माणि जिजीविषेच्छतं समाः ।

Moreover in Bṛihadāraṇyaka itself it is said that a person knowing Brahman, neither becomes greater nor less by being active or inactive (एष नित्यो महिमा ब्राह्मणस्य न वर्धते कर्मणा नो कानीयान्, ४.४.२३.) Therefore, to avoid contradiction, we have to take it that the passages under consideration are a panegyric on the knowledge of the Brahma (meaning that the superiority of the joy of the knowledge of Brahma causes one to despise other joys) and not a command about Saṃnyāsāśrama.

We have a passage in "Nārāyaṇōpanishad" where Nyāsa, *i.e.*, Saṃnyāsa is recommended (न्यास इति ब्रह्मा ब्रह्माहि परः परोहि ब्रह्मा तानि वा एतान्यवराणि तपांसि न्यास एवात्यरेच्यत् ॥ ७८ ॥) and a passage in "Muṇḍakopanishad" where the same is done (वेदांतविज्ञानसु निश्चितार्थाः । संन्यासयोगात् यतयः शुद्धसत्त्वाः । ३.२.६). But it is

not clear whether this Saṁnyāsa means abandonment of actions or simply abandonment of desires and attachment (आसक्ति). Therefore, we cannot take these passages to mean a command about Saṁnyāsāśrama. The "Jābālopanishad" does, no doubt, command the Saṁnyāsāśrama but it is not relied upon or referred to in any of the Sūtras of Vyāsa though it was necessary to refer to it in chapter 3, pāda 4. It must therefore be subsequent in date to the "Vyāsaśūtras" and cannot therefore be held as an authority.

There is another passage in the same "Muṇḍakopaniṣad" which is more definite than the former. It is this:

तपः श्रद्धा ये ह्युपवसत्यरण्ये । शान्ता विद्वांसोभैक्षचर्यं चरन्तः । सूर्यद्वारेण ते विरजाः प्रयांति यत्रामृतः स पुरुषो ह्यव्ययात्मा ॥ १.२.११ ॥

The words भैक्षचर्यं चरन्तः really mean, as the context shows, living by begging and therefore unable to perform Yajñas which require much money. They may, however, be said to point to Saṁnyāsāśrama. But we cannot take this as a command for Saṁnyāsāśrama; for Saṁnyāsāśrama implies abandonment of activity while the Upanishad says that he is the best knower of Brahma who does good acts (क्रियावानेष ब्रह्मविदां वरिष्ठः ॥ ३.१.४ ॥) and that "bliss results from good acts" (कर्मसु चामृतम् १.१.८). Therefore, we have to take this passage as a command for or a panegyric of तपः, i.e., abstinence from sensual pleasures and Śraddhā, i.e., firm faith in the true knowledge of the Brahman. Nor can it be urged that the Upanishad condemns in (1.2) Yajñas and that therefore this passage should be taken as a command to abandon them; for it is clear that it condemns Yajñas only to show the importance of Brahmavidyā recommended in 1.2.13 and actually described in details in the second and third Muṇḍaka and not to recommend abandonment of the Yajñas. This is just like what the "Bhagavad-geeta" says in

यज्ञदानतपःकर्म न त्याज्यं कार्यमेवतत् ।

यज्ञोदानं तपश्चैव पावनानि मनीषिणाम् ।

एतान्यपि तु कर्माणि कर्तव्यानि मनीषिभिः ।

संगं त्यक्त्वा फलं चैव निश्चितं मतमुत्तमम् ॥

Now we have to consider the passage "ये चे मेऽरण्ये श्रद्धा तप इत्युपासते ते अर्चिषमभिसंभवति, etc., in "Chhāndogya", 5.10.1-2. Here the word अरण्य may be supposed to suggest a command

about the Āśrama of the forest-dweller. But this is wrong. For in "Chhāndogya", 4.15.1-5, for obtaining the same Archirādigati, the dwelling in forest is not mentioned as a necessity but only true knowledge of Brahma is said to result in Archirādigati. In "Chhāndogya", 8.15 also dwelling in forest is not mentioned as a necessity for the attainment of Brahmaloaka but the words कुटुंबे शुचौ देशे, *i.e.*, in the family and in a holy or pure country, are used. This shows that the word अरण्य in 5.10.1-2 means only a holy or pure country, *i.e.*, a good surrounding that helps or encourages one to follow the rule of तपस्, *i.e.*, abstinence from the pleasures of the senses and the rule of Śraddhā, *i.e.*, firm faith in the true knowledge of the Brahman. Moreover living even in a holy country is not essential, for, one who observes Tapas and Śraddhā while dwelling in any country whatsoever, must attain Brahma according to "Chhāndogya", 4.15.1-5. For all these reasons, we cannot construe this passage in "Chhāndogya" 5.10.1-2 to mean a command about the Āśrama of the forest-dweller but we have to take it to mean only a command about Tapas and Śraddhā which can be observed by a man of any Āśrama.

This discussion will show that the statements of Goutama, Baudhāyana and Jaimini that in the Vedas there is no direct command about any Āśrama except that of the house-dweller, and the statement of Jaimini that there are only references to other Āśramas and not commands about them are quite true and justified. We can therefore fairly conclude that the Āśramas enjoined by Ānanda Brahmā or Swāyambhuva Manu were only three, namely, ब्रह्मचर्य (the student's Āśrama), गार्हस्थ्य (the house holder's Āśrama), and संप्रदानाश्रम (the Āśrama after transfer of responsibility to the son). The duties of the first two Āśramas are well known. The main duty of this third Āśrama was to protect all others, of course, by correct advice and teaching. This is clear from the words "इतोऽमुनजत्" in "Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad", 1.5.19 already quoted. This Āśrama and this duty, namely, the duty of protecting others assigned to this Āśrama have been eclipsed as it were by the Āśramas subsequently devised by Kapila, according to the statement of Baudhāyana.

79. The conclusion arrived at in the previous paragraph is also supported by the following passage in the "Chhāndogya Upanishad". This is the passage:

तद्वैतत् ब्रह्मा प्रजापतय उवाच प्रजापतिर्मनवे मनुः प्रजाभ्यः । आचार्यकुलाद् वेदमधीत्य यथाविधानं गुरोः कर्मातिशेषेणाभिसमाप्त्य कुटुंबे शुचौ देशे स्वाध्याय-मधीयानो धार्मिकान् विदधदात्मनि सर्वेन्द्रियाणि संप्रतिष्ठाप्य अहिंसन् सर्वभूतानि अन्यत्र तीर्थेभ्यः स खल्वेवं वर्तयन् यावदायुषं ब्रह्मलोकमभिसंपद्यते न च पुनरावर्तते न च पुनरावर्तते ॥ १५ ॥

—अ. ८, छां. उ.

Translation:—This was told by Ānanda Brahmā to Prajāpati and by the Prajāpati it was told to Swāyambhuva Manu and Swāyambhuva Manu told this to the people (प्रजाः)—this that follows:

“A man should reside in the family of the preceptor and should properly study the Vedas in the time that is left after the performance of duties (कर्मातिशेषेण) to the preceptor. Then after completing the study of the Vedas, he should return home and stay in the family (with his wife and children) in a holy country, study and teach the Vedas (अधीयानः includes teaching in the same way as अधीहि in अधीहि भगवो ब्रह्मेति in “Taittiriya Upanishad” in Bhṛigu Valli means ‘teach’) and should perform Dhārmika duties having established (stabilized) his organs in his soul and avoiding the killing of all beings except for Dhārmika duties. Acting in this way he attains Brahmaloка so long as he lives (यावदायुषं आभसिपद्यते this is what the कठोपनिषद् says in अत्र ब्रह्म समश्नुते) and is not born again after death.”

This passage enjoins only one Āśrama, the Āśrama of the house-holder for one who has completed the study of the Vedas, and says that while residing in the family he is to stabilize his organs in the Ātman and that if he does so, he gets Brahmaloка, i.e., supreme happiness while living and is not born again. This was told first by Brahmā who can be no other than Ānanda Brahmā. The Prajāpati to whom this is said to have been told, can be no other than the presidents of the republic that was established after Ānanda Brahmā and continued for 300 years between Ānanda Brahmā and Swāyambhuva Manu (see paragraphs 362–66 of my book “The Astronomical Method, etc.”). The Manu also can be no other than the Swāyambhuva Manu as the history known to us shows. We are therefore right in saying that the Āśrama System of Ānanda Brahmā and Swāyambhuva Manu did not enjoin the Āśrama of the student for life or of the forest-dweller or of the wanderer. It may be objected that this passage shows that their system of Āśramas did not also

enjoin the Sampradānāśrama, i.e., the Āśrama after transfer of responsibility. That Āśrama is a natural Āśrama and exists on account of its own necessity. Therefore though not mentioned expressly in this passage it must have existed and have been mentioned with its duties by Brahmā and Manu. This conclusion is supported by the description of that Āśrama in "Kausheetakee" and "Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishads" and in the "Manusmṛiti" which must have followed Ānanda Brahmā and Swāyambhuva Manu and the original "Manusmṛiti". It is true that the "Vāyupurāṇa" describes four Āśramas as enjoined by Brahmā (आश्रमांश्चतुरोह्येतान् पूर्वमास्थापयत्प्रभुः ॥ १७७ ॥ अ. ८); but this can be the result of the mutilation of the text by subsequent editors of the Purāṇa-mutilation resorted to for bringing the Purāṇa on a line with the current ideas. Thus our conclusion that the Brahmā and Swāyambhuva Manu enjoined only three Āśramas—the Āśramas of the student, of the house-holder and of the transferor of responsibility of the family, stands unshaken.

80. We shall now discuss the merits of the system of Brahmā and that of Kapila. "In a country which is sparsely populated, the non-procreating Āśramas are out of place. When a country becomes over-populated the non-procreating Āśramas are a necessity." This is what some say. But that is wrong because increase of population depends upon the number of married women and not of married men. Therefore widowhood, maiden-hood or woman ascetic is the real remedy for over-population. It is therefore clear that the idea of the non-procreating and begging Āśramas arose from the idea of the unreality of the world वैवर्त्तेन ज्ञानेन as the वायुपुराण says in verse 71 of Chapter 6 quoted in paragraph 6, and not from an idea of the necessity of keeping down population. These Āśramas therefore mean abandonment of all activity necessary for the continuity and well-being of the society and it generally happens that only the good and capable men are attracted to such Āśramas and the society is thus robbed of good men and their good progeny. Therefore these Āśramas are the bane of society and ultimately of the individual too. It is thus that the Smṛitikāras did not approve of these Āśramas and laid down the rule that at least none should take to these Āśramas without discharging the three famous debts (ऋणानि त्रीण्यपाकृत्य मनो मोक्षं निवेशयेत्, etc., "Manu").

LECTURE VIII

THE YAJÑA AND THE AŚWAMEDHA YAJÑA

81. The word Yajña is derived from the root “Yaj” to worship. The object of Yajña, the worship, is to propitiate, any higher or superior being by giving something to it and by praising it and to ask in return some blessing. It should be noted that when the worshipped being was intangible or inaccessible, this giving was done by throwing that thing into fire or by giving it to a representative as in Śraddha. Thus praising the superior being and giving something to it are the main parts of a Yajña. The “Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa” says :

द्रव्यमंत्रात्मको यज्ञः ॥ ४३ ॥ पाद २, अ. ३०

and “Matsya” also says the same in Chapter 143, verse 33. That means that the real part of Yajña is Mantras, *i.e.*, the praise of the superior being that is worshipped and offering something (द्रव्य) to the same. The other details of the Yajña are only the applications of the acts of hospitality to the worshipped being and to the animal sacrificed also. Had we known the ideas of hospitality to the guest, current in those ancient times, we would have been able to explain all these details of the Yajña. I am not going to give these details here as they have no social value. Those that want to know them may read Das’s “Rigvedic Culture”, Chapter XIII and “Mahārāshtrīya Jñānaśāstra”, Vol. 2.

82. Such is the original form of the Yajña and it shows that the objective of the Yajña was purely individualistic. But it appears wise men attached to it such parts as had great influence upon social and other matters also. Such parts are: (1) Taking the help of other men called ऋत्विजः (Ritwijaḥ) in performing Yajña and giving pecuniary remuneration (दक्षिणा) to them; (2) Making donations to and feeding others; (3) Singing the praises of the superior being that was worshipped; (4) Prescribing that the Yajña be performed when the heavenly bodies assume particular positions; (5) Prescribing a certain form and area for the Vēdi and the fire-places; (6) Prescribing that the Yajña-śāla, the house for the sacrifice should be facing a certain direction. Some of these parts gave rise to and helped the development of

the art of singing and the sciences of Geometry and Astronomy. But in social matters also the Yajña had important effects. It is the tendency of wealth to accumulate in one place, and this accumulation becomes a social evil at times. This evil was counteracted by the remunerations and the donations attached to the Yajña. It is true that it were the Brāhmaṇas alone who got these remunerations and donations. But as they were enjoined to devote all their time and energy to study, learning and teaching, they had to be supplied with easy means of livelihood. They had also to be supplied with means of livelihood that would not depend upon the good-will of the King, so that they should declare the "law", uninfluenced by the King. It was thus a social necessity that the Brāhmaṇas should be given remunerations and donations, and this need was supplied by the Yajña. Moreover the Brāhmaṇas in their turn were to perform Yajñas. They would also spend for their maintenance what little they got. Thus wealth was kept in constant circulation by the Yajña. Another and more important effect followed from the fact that the performance of the Yajñas required the help or services of several R̥itwijāḥ. From this point of view, the Yajña was a kind of association or a club where several persons assembled and did some work in an organized manner. This must have produced in the society, an intense sense of unity and capacity for and love of organization. The Ārya Society in India was early divided into a number of states, at least since the time that Vaivaswata Manu started new colonizations to the east and to the south of the Brahmāvarta. Though thus divided into several states there was a sense of unity running through these several states and the Yajña must have contributed largely to the keeping up and growth of this sense. Learned men from several states could and did assemble to act as R̥itwijāḥ in the Yajña and there must have arisen a sense of unity running through all states. Moreover, in such a Yajña, where several learned men met, several problems of great importance pertaining to science or society must have been discussed and their solution advanced. Again, the Brahmāṇas acting as R̥itwijāḥ in the Yajñas must have very often come into contact with the Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas and this contact must have also contributed to the sense of unity between these three Varnas. The Yajña was thus a very important social factor, though its objective was primarily individualistic. It is

presumably for these reasons that in the passage in the "Vāyupurāṇa" quoted in paragraph 68, इज्या or यज्ञ has been included in the six headings and eight principles necessary for the continuity of the society (लोकसंतानकारणात्).

83. Important as the Yajña was, the Aśwamedha Yajña was much more important. I shall therefore describe it and try to trace its development as fully as I can. The Aśwamedha is described primarily in "Kṛishṇa Yajurveda", i.e., the "Taittīreya Saṃhitā"

in	Kāṇḍa	Prapāthaka	Anuvāka
	4	6	6- 9
	4	7	15
	5	1	11
	5	2	11-12
	5	3	12
	5	4	12
	5	5	11-23
	5	6	11-23
	5	7	11-26
	7	1	11-20
	7	2	11-20
	7	3	11-20
	7	4	12-22
	7	5	11-25

and in "Taittīreya Brāhmaṇa"

in	Kāṇḍa	Prapāthaka	Anuvāka
	2	5	2
	3	8	1-23
	3	9	1-23

and in the "Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa" in the XIII Kāṇḍa. The following is the description of the Aśwamedha as found there:

On the first day R̥itwijaḥ are fed with rice and given gold as Dakṣhiṇa by a king. It appears that ten days were then passed in making preparations or in preliminary ceremonies. On the twelfth day after several ceremonies, the king releases a horse followed by armoured princes and other warriors to protect it from being captured. The horse roams over the territories of other kings. The other kings may allow the horse to pass freely through their territories and this means that they acknowledge the supremacy of the sacrificing king. If any of the other

kings captures the horse, a fight ensues and if the army of the sacrificing king is successful, the horse is released; but if the army of the sacrificing king is defeated, the sacrifice itself is obstructed and comes to an end.

While the horse is roaming over the territories of other kings, the sacrificing king performs for 360 days certain ceremonies intended to ensure the return of the horse (see "Śatapatha", 13.1.6).

After the horse is released, for the period of ten successive days, including the day of the release of the horse, the Hota R̥itwaj tells ten stories, one story each day in the following order, namely, the stories of (1) Vaivaswata Manu, (2) Vaivaswata Yama, (3) Varuṇa Āditya, (4) Soma Vaishṇava, (5) Arbuda Kādraveya, (6) Kubera Vaiśravaṇa, (7) Asita Dhānva, (8) Matsya Sammada, (9) Tārکشya Vaipaśyata, and (10) Dharma Indra. After the story for the day is finished, stories of other old pious kings are also sung every day. This procedure of ten days is again and again repeated for 360 days (समानमाख्यानं संवत्सरं परिप्लवते in ऋतपथ, १३.४.३.१५). Then the Deeksha ceremonies are performed for seven days (see "Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa", 3.8.10). Then the chief ceremonies of the horse sacrifice are performed in three days, the horse being killed on the middle of these days (see "Kriṣṇa Yajurveda", 5.4.12). Thus the horse sacrifice went on for 381 days.*

Such a sacrifice can, of course, be performed by a king who is supreme in power and this is expressly stated in the "Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa", 13.1.6 and in "Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa", 3.8.9.

84. Such is the form of the Aśwamedha, as found in the primarily authoritative books available at present. The descrip-

* *Note.*—I have assumed that ten days in the beginning were spent in the preliminary ceremonies or in preparation and thus shown that this horse sacrifice was performed for 381 days because even in the "Śatapatha" it is stated about this horse sacrifice, that he who performs this sacrifice makes the Prajāpati or the year complete (एष ह वै प्रजापतिं सर्वं करोति योश्चमेधेन यजते, १३.३.१), and that the Devas set the fallen eye of the Prajāpati again in its place by performing the Aśwamedha, which statements only mean as shown hereafter, that they added 21 days in the fourth year to make up the difference of $5\frac{1}{2}$ days between the civil year of 360 days and the solar year of 365 $\frac{1}{2}$ days and performed the Yajña in the 381 days thus obtained (see "Astronomical Method, etc.," paragraph 264). I therefore take it that this horse sacrifice went on for 381 days.

tion of the Āswamedha in the Bālakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa and in the Mahābhārata agrees with this. But in the "Vāyupurāṇa" we find a different form of the same. It is described in the following passage:

वर्णाश्रमव्यवस्थानं कृत्वामंत्रांश्च संहिताम् ।

(संहितान्)

मंत्रान् संयोजयित्वाथ इहामुत्रेषु कर्मसु ॥ ९० ॥

(तान्) (इहामुत्र च)

तथाविश्वभुगिन्द्रस्तु यज्ञम् प्रावर्तयत्तदा ।

(तदा) (श्च) (प्रभुः)

दैवतैः महितः सर्वैः सर्वसंभारसंभृतम् ॥ ९१ ॥

(सहितैः) (तः)

अथाश्वमेधे वितते समाजग्मुः महर्षयः ॥ ९२ ॥

(तस्या)

.. ..

.. ..

हविष्यग्नौ हूयमाने देवानां देवहोतृभिः ।

(ब्राह्मणैश्चामिहोत्रिभिः)

आहूतेषु च देवेषु यज्ञभाक्षु महात्मसु ॥ ९५ ॥

(क्रमात्तदा)

य इन्द्रियात्मका देवा यज्ञभाजस्तथा तु ते ।

(तदा ते यज्ञभागिनः)

तान् यजंते तदा देवाः कल्पादिषु भवंति ये ॥ ९६ ॥

(तद्) (देवान्)

—वायुपुराण, अ. ५७; ब्रह्माण्डपुराण, पाद २, अ. ३०;

मत्स्यपुराण, अ. १४३.

Translation.—Having established the Varṇas and Āśramas and having got the (old) Mantras collected into Saṃhitās (संहितान्) and having settled the (new) Mantras to be used in the ceremonies pertaining to this world and to the next world, Indra protector (विश्वभुग्) of the world, accompanied by all public functionaries, started the Yajña, in which all necessary things were collected, in the beginning of the Tretāyuga in the period of Swāyambhuva Manu (तदा; the context shows this meaning of तदा). When this Āswamedha Yajña of Indra was started, the great Rishis went there when the oblations of the Devas were being thrown

into the "fire" by the Hotṛis of the Devas and when the Devas having great souls who partake of the offerings in the Yajña, were invited || 95 || Those Devas are the partakers of the offerings in the Yajña who have got organs, *i.e.*, bodies (इन्द्रियात्मका). Those Devas who arise (or come into existence) in the beginning of the Kalpa are then worshipped || 96 ||

This passage discloses very peculiar things, namely, (1) that there were two kinds of ceremonies, those pertaining to this world and those pertaining to the next world, and (2) that there were two kinds of Devas those having bodies and those not having bodies. The Devas having bodies who are said here to arise in every Kalpa, can be no other than the public functionaries that were newly appointed in every new Kalpa as already shown in the second lecture. The passage says that these Devas were worshipped (यजंति) and that they partook of and received the offerings in the Yajña (यज्ञभाजः). Presumably this was the ceremony pertaining to this world. The other Devas were the natural objects and natural powers such as the Sun, the Moon, the Death, the Wind, the Fire, the Varuṇa, etc., who having no body, could not actually receive the offerings in the Yajña and whose offerings were therefore thrown in the fire after praising them. This was presumably the ceremony pertaining to the next world.

85. We do not find even a trace of the ceremony of the worship of the public functionaries in the Aśwamedha as described in the "Taittireeya Saṃhita", the "Taittireeya Brāhmaṇa" and the "Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa" the primary sources of our information. Nor do we find there the ceremonies pertaining to this world as distinct from the ceremonies pertaining to the next world. It is therefore clear that the Aśwamedha of the days of Swāyambhuva Manu was different in form from that described in the three works referred to above. The main objective of the new Aśwamedha was to declare and establish the supremacy of the sacrificing king over other kings. The main objective of the old Aśwamedha appears to be to honour the public functionaries for having done their duties properly. There may, of course, be other secondary objectives also and these may also be somewhat different in the old and the new Aśwamedha. One of the secondary objectives of the old Aśwamedha was to make the year complete or in non-poetic language to celebrate the com-

pletion of the year. I shall explain what I mean. The civil year then consisted of 360 days. But the tropical or solar or seasonal year consists of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days every year. This deficit was made up in the fourth year by adding 21 days to the civil year. It was in the year thus lengthened, *i.e.*, in the long year, that the old Aśwamedha was performed. I have shown all this in paragraphs 252-64 of my book "The Astronomical Method, etc." The most important passages relied upon there are these:

प्रजापतिरकामयत् महान् भूयान् स्यामिति स एतावत्क्षमेवे महिमानौ ग्रहाव-
पश्यत् तावज्जुहोत् ततो वै स महान् भूयानभवत् ॥ शतपथ., कां. १३, अ. २,
ब्रा. ११.

Translation.—Prajāpati (*i.e.*, the year as clearly stated in "संवत्सरः प्रजापतिरग्निः" in "Śatapatha", 10.4.2) desired that he should be great (long). He saw in the Aśwamedha two Grahas that could lengthen him (महिमानौ). He offered those oblations and became great (long). These Grahas are described in "Śatapatha", 13.2.11 and in "Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa", 3.9.10.

This passage means in non-poetical language that the Aśwamedha was performed in the long year of 381 days.

The other passage is as follows:

प्रजापतेरक्षयश्चयत् तत्परोपतत् ततोश्चः समभवत् तदक्षस्याश्वत्वं तद्देवा अश्व-
मेधेनैव प्रत्यादधुरेष वै प्रजापतिं सर्वं करोति बोध्वमेधेन यजते ॥

—शतपथ, कां. १३, अ. ३, ब्रा. १.

Translation.—The eye of the Prajāpati increased (grew), while growing it fell away. From it a horse came into being. A horse is Aśwa because it grew, *i.e.*, Aśwayat. That eye the Devas set again in its place by the Aśwamedha itself. Therefore, he who sacrifices by the Aśwamedha makes the Prajāpati complete.

The Prajāpati is the year as stated clearly in "संवत्सरः प्रजापति रग्निः" in "Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa", 10.4.2. The eye of the Prajāpati can mean nothing but the difference between the Civil Year of 360 days and solar year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days. This difference increased every year till in the fourth year it amounted to twenty-one whole days, an integral number of days convenient for intercalation. This fact is described as the falling away of the eye. That "this eye was set in its place again by the Aśwamedha"

means that this difference was filled in by performing the Aśwamedha during the whole period of the long year. The following passage also supports the same meaning:

प्रजापतिः देवेभ्यो यज्ञान् व्यादिशत् । स आत्मबन्धुमेधमधत् ॥

—शतपथ, १३.२.१.१.

Translation.—The Prajāpati, i.e., year enjoined Yajñas for the Devas, for himself he enjoined the Aśwamedha.

All this means that the Aśwamedha was performed for making the year complete, of course, in the fourth long year. Though the three statements supporting this conclusion are found in the description of the new Aśwamedha, they must have first originated with respect to the old Aśwamedha, for the objective of the new Aśwamedha shows that there is no reason for performing the new Aśwamedha in the long year. Thus clearly the old Aśwamedha was performed in the fourth long year. We don't find any trace of such a thing in the new Aśwamedha; for, though as shown by me before, the new Aśwamedha consisted of 381 days, it was not ordained that it was to be performed every fourth year only.

86. The offerings named Mahimānau Grahau already referred to, must have been a part of the old Aśwamedha originally because they are said to have lengthened the year (महान् अभवत्), i.e., in non-poetical language they were offered, in the sacrifice for celebrating the long year and because the Mantras that are to be used while offering them (these Mantras are given in "Taittireeya Samhitā", 7.5.16-17) only praise the Prajāpati, i.e., the year and are therefore really appropriate only in the old Aśwamedha and not in the new.

87. There is another peculiarity of the old Aśwamedha that can have been referred to in the words "मंत्रान् संयोजयित्वाथ इहामुत्र च कर्मसु ॥" We have proved in paragraph 72 that new Mantras of Rigveda, Yajurveda and Sāmaveda were made in every Kalpa and were sanctioned by the Saptarshis. In the following passage, it is also stated that the Prajāpati, i.e., year, made these Mantras. The passage is this:

संवत्सरो वै प्रजापतिरग्निः... स ऋचोव्यौहत् द्वादश बृहतीसहस्राणि एता-
चस्यो हर्चो याः प्रजापतिसृष्टाः ॥ २३ ॥ अथेतरो वेदौ व्यौहत् द्वादशैव बृहती-
सहस्राणि अष्टौ यजुषां चत्वारि साम्नाम् एतावद्वैतयोर्वेदयोः प्रजापतिसृष्टम् ॥ २४ ॥

Translation.—Year is the Prajāpati who is also the Angi (sacrifice). He arranged the Rigveda into twelve thousand

Bṛihatees, for only so many are the Rik hymns created by the Prajāpati. He then arranged the other Vedas into twelve thousand Bṛihatees, the Yajurveda into eight thousand Bṛihatees and the Sāmaveda into four thousand Bṛihatees; for so many only are the hymns of these Vedas created by Prajāpati.

Now the question is—Why are hymns made by poets and sanctioned by Saptarshis as shown before, said to have been made by Prajāpati? Because they were made for being used in the Aśwamedha that was celebrated for making the Prajāpati, i.e., the year complete or large as stated in the passages प्रजापति रक्ष्यश्चयत् and प्रजापतिरकामयत् महान् भूयान् स्याम् just quoted. Therefore it is said in मंत्रान् वै योजयित्वा, etc., that it was settled what new Mantras were to be used in the various ceremonies.

88. Thus it is clearly proved that new Mantras of Rīgveda, Yajurveda and Sāmaveda were made and used in the old Aśwamedha. There is no trace of this also in the new Aśwamedha. But there is a trace of this in the Saṃvatsara Satra. In the description of the Saṃvatsara Satra, which also consisted of 381 days, as shown in paragraphs 252-63 of my book "The Astronomical Method, etc.," there are three days named Chhandomāḥ (छंदोमाः) just before the last three days of that sacrifice named the tenth day (दशममहः), Mahāvratā (महाव्रत) and Udayaneeya Atirātra (उदयनीय अतिरात्र) said to have been created respectively from Saṃvatsara, Prajāpati and Saṃvatsara. Though the ceremonies to be performed on these Chhandoma days do not contain creation of Chhandas, the word Chhandoma itself is significant. The word Chhandoma means those days on which the Chhandas are created. These Chhandas are presumably no other than the Mantras of the Rīgveda, Yajurveda and Sāmaveda and we know that such new Mantras were made for being used in the old Aśwamedha. The inference seems irresistible that the days on which such new Mantras were made during the old Aśwamedha were the same as the Chhandoma days mentioned in the Saṃvatsara Satra. In other words the Chhandoma days must have formed parts of the old Aśwamedha. This conclusion finds support in the consideration that Chhandoma days on which new Mantras were made could not have formed part of a purely private ceremony like the Saṃvatsara Satra but could have formed part of a public function like the Aśwamedha.

89. The question now arises as to why the *Samvatsara Satra* as described in the extant works contains the *Chhandoma* days. I think we can fairly arrive at the following conclusions if the history of the *Āryan* states given by me in paragraph 57 is taken into consideration.

The conclusions are these: *Indra* and the other public authorities celebrated in every fourth year of 381 days, the public sacrifice named *Aśwamedha*, to celebrate the lengthening of the year and to honour either the old or the new public functionaries and of course to ask blessings for the state as a whole. In this sacrifice, new hymns of *Rigveda*, *Yajurveda* and *Sāmaveda* were made by poets and sanctioned by the *Saptarshis* on the days named *Chhandomāh* and were used on the *Mahāvratā* day created from *Prajāpati* and on the *Atirātra* and *Daśama* days created from *Samvatsara*. As the name *Aśwamedha* implies, a horse must have been sacrificed, as in the new *Aśwamedha*, on the last but one day named *Mahāvratā* day without of course making the horse roam over the territories of other states. When new *Āryan* states arose and grew in importance, they also must have developed an ambition to perform such a *Yajña*; but the mother state must have considered it to be its exclusive right to perform such a *Yajña*. Such a contest can only be decided by force and therefore the new *Aśwamedha* must have been devised and the old *Aśwamedha* was contracted and degenerated or shrunk into the present *Samvatsara Satra* that can now be performed by any body. As a result, the ceremony of the worshipping of public functionaries became extinct, the creation of new hymns of the *Rigveda*, *Yajurveda* and *Sāmaveda*, was stopped and the offerings named *Mahimānu Grahau* were transferred to the new *Aśwamedha*.

It should be noted here that the alternative suggestion that the *Samvatsara Satra* existed side by side along with the old *Aśwamedha* is not tenable, and acceptable because that will not explain the existence of the *Chhandoma* days in the private *Samvatsara Satra*, as these days can form part of a public ceremony only.

90. The conclusion that the old *Aśwamedha* was contracted into the present *Samvatsara Satra* means that the old *Aśwamedha* was very much like the present *Samvatsara Satra*. This is supported by the "*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*" in the following way: That

Brāhmaṇa describes in 13.5.3-9 that the last two days of the Aśwamedha should be celebrated as Ukthya and Atirātra, and in 13.5.4.1 it says that Indrota Devapa Śaunaka performed the Aśwamedha of Janmejaya an ancestor of the Pāṇḍavas as shown in paragraphs 195-97 of my book "The Astronomical Method etc.," in the very same manner (एतेन). Further on, the Brāhmaṇa describes how Aśwamedhas of other kings were performed in different manners and in this description we have the following most important passage:

एते एव पूर्वे अहनी । मद्वाव्रतमतिरात्रस्तेन ह मरुत आविक्षित ईज आयोगवो
राजा तस्य ह मरुतः परिवेष्टारोऽग्निः क्षत्ता विश्वेदेवाः सभासदो बभूवुस्तदेतद् गाययाभि-
गीतम् मरुतः परिवेष्टारो मरुतस्यावसन् गृहे । आविक्षितस्याग्निः क्षत्ता विश्वेदेवाः
सभासद् इति मरुतो ह वै तस्य परिवेष्टारोऽग्निः क्षत्ता विश्वेदेवाः सभासदो भवन्ति योऽश्व-
मेधेन यजते ॥ १३.५.४.६.

Translation:—"These two days, i.e., the Ukthya and Atirātra were in former times the two days Mahāvratā and Atirātra. By that form of Aśwamedha, did worship, the Ayogava King named Marutta son of Avikshit. The Maruts were his body-guards or meal-servers. The Agni was his door-keeper (क्षत्ता) and the public functionaries named Viśvedevas or all the public functionaries were members of his assembly. This is sung in the following song: मरुतः परिवेष्टारो, etc. In the same way whoever worships by the Aśwamedha has, while worshipping the Maruts for his body-guards, the Agni for his door-keeper and all the Devas or the Viśvedevas as members of his assembly." The King Marutta mentioned here was the King of Brahmāvarta as shown in paragraph 378 of my book "The Astronomical Method, etc.," and the Devas, Marut, Agni and others were public functionaries in the Brahmāvarta, as shown previously. The passage, therefore, clearly purports to describe the old Aśwamedha. And in this description the last two days are said to be Mahāvratā, and Atirātra. The last two days in the present Saṃvatsara Satra also are Mahāvratā and Atirātra. The present Saṃvatsara Satra has also got the three Chhandoma days in which new Mantras were composed in former times. Thus it is very clear that the old Aśwamedha was much like the present Saṃvatsara Satra.

91. That there was jealousy between the mother-state and the new states about the performance of the Aśwamedha is proved by an instance wherein Indra, the public functionary of

the mother-state, is said to have put obstruction in the performance of the Aśwamedha of another state, and by the absence of the opposite instances. The following is the instance referred to above. When Sagara, the King of Ayodhyā, let loose his horse for Aśwamedha, the horse was captured and concealed by the public functionary named Vāyu at the instance of Indra (see "Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa", Pāda 3, Chapters 52-53: "वासवेन प्रचोदितः जहार तुरगं वायुः"). Kālidāsa says in "Raghuvamśa" that Raghu's Aśwamedhika horse was captured by Indra. Though this is not confirmed by the Purāṇas, it shows that the learned men of the time of Kālidāsa believed that there was jealousy between Indra and the kings about the performance of the Aśwamedha. This traditional belief must have had its origin in the actual jealousies between the Indra of Brahmāvarta and the kings of the neighbouring states.

We must also consider the natural trend of events. That there should arise jealousy between the mother-state and the new states is very natural, the Aśwamedha being a socio-political function. The jealousy between the new states *inter se* is also very natural. This jealousy must have resulted in the rise of the new Aśwamedha and in the shrinking of the old Aśwamedha into the Samvatsara Satra.

92. I shall now describe an important prayer used in the new Aśwamedha while performing the Brahmavarchasa Homa as it is named. It is as follows:

आ ब्रह्मन् ब्राह्मणो ब्रह्मवर्चसी जायताम् । अस्मिन् राष्ट्रे राजन्य इषव्यः शूरो
महारथो जायताम् । दोग्ध्री धेनुः । वोढानङ्वान् । आशुः सप्तिः । पुरंधिर्योषा ।
जिष्णूरथेष्टाः सभेयो युवांस्य यजमानस्य वीरोजायताम् । निकामे निकामे नः पर्जन्यो
वर्षतु । कलिन्यो न ओषधयः पच्यताम् । योगक्षेमो नः कल्पताम् ॥

—तै. सं., कांड ७, प्रपाठक ५, अनुवाक १८.

Translation:—Oh, Gods, in the Brāhmaṇa class (ब्रह्मन्) may Brāhmaṇas arise who have knowledge and virtue (ब्रह्मवर्चसी); Oh Gods, in this Nation, may warriors arise who are skilful in the use of arms, brave and efficient and skilful leaders of armies (महारथः); May cows arise that give profuse milk; May oxen arise that can draw heavy carriages; May horses arise that can run very fast; May women arise that attract men in the cities by their beauty and virtue (पुरंधिः पुरवासिभिर्ध्यायते इति पुरंधिः);

May a brave son (वीरः) who is a good general (रथेष्ठाः) and an effective speaker (समेयः) and a strong one (युवा) and a conqueror be born to the sacrificing king;* May rains come when wanted; May trees bear good rich crops; May we get much; and May that be well protected (योगक्षेमः).

This prayer shows that the Aśwamedha was really a social and political function. This prayer must also have formed a part of the old Aśwamedha but must have been omitted from the Śarpvatsara Satra. This prayer also shows what are the real necessities of a nation.

93. The old Aśwamedha was performed only in the Brahmāvarta by the public functionaries of that state. In the Kalpa of Swāyambhuva Manu, Indra acted as the Yajamāna. This appears from the passage quoted in paragraph 84. But Swāyambhuva Manu established a kingdom in Brahmāvarta and thence the importance of the public functionary named Indra waned. It is thus that in the Aśwamedhas performed in the days of Daksha and Marutta who were the kings of the Brahmāvarta, these kings acted as Yajamānas. (See paragraphs 367, 373 and 378 of my book "The Astronomical Method, etc." which show that they were the kings of the Brahmāvarta and that Daksha performed the Aśwamedha. That Marutta performed the Aśwamedha is shown by the passage quoted in paragraph 90.) Though the old Aśwamedha was performed in Brahmāvarta every fourth year, the Vedas and Purāṇas may have described the Aśwamedhas of Daksha and Marutta only for the reason of some special *splendour* exhibited in them.

94. The new Aśwamedha was performed by kings of states other than Brahmāvarta, when they felt themselves strong enough. It would be interesting to know all the kings who performed the new Aśwamedha.

I am, therefore, enumerating all those here. The "Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa" mentions several kings who performed the new Aśwamedha. I shall give them here first. The King Janamejaya, grandson of Kuru, an ancestor of the Pāṇḍavas and his brothers Bheemasena, Ugrasena and Śrutasena performed this new Aśwa-

* Note.—In the Aśwamedha the sacrificer is always a king and a king requires eloquence also to win the support of the people and hence follows the propriety of the adjective Sabheya.

medha (see paragraphs 197 of "The Astronomical Method, etc."). Hiranyanābha, king of the Kośala country, also performed the new Aśwamedha. This king has also been mentioned in "Prašnopanishad" in the sixth Praśna and appears to be same as the tenth descendant of Śree Rāma (see paragraph 388 of my book "The Astronomical Method, etc."). purukutsa, the son of Māndhātā, though a king of Brahmāvarta, also appears to have performed the new Aśwamedha (see paragraph 381 of my book "The Astronomical Method, etc." that shows that Purukutsa, son of Māndhātā, was the king of Brahmāvarta). Kraiwyā, the king of Pāñchālas, and Dwaitawana, the king of Matsyas, also performed the new Aśwamedha. Bharata, the son of Dushyanta, the famous king of Kurukshetra, also performed the new Aśwamedha. Rishabha Yājñatura, the king of the Swiknas and Sona Sātrāsāha, the king of the Pāñchālas also performed the new Aśwamedha. The king Śatāneeka Sātrājita performed the new Aśwamedha with a horse captured from the king of Kāśī who had let it loose for his own Aśwamedha.

We have seen already that King Sagara performed the new Aśwamedha. We know from the Rāmāyaṇa that King Daśaratha of Ayodhyā performed the new Aśwamedha. We also know from the same work that Śree Rāma also performed ten such Aśwamedhas (युद्धकांड, सर्ग १२८, श्लोक १५). The Mahābhārata informs us that Pāṇḍava Yudhiṣṭhira performed the new Aśwamedha. The "Vāyupurāṇa" informs us that Janamejaya, the great-grandson of the Pāṇḍavas, performed two Aśwamedhas.

I have given above the kings in the pre-Mouryan period who performed Aśwamedhas. This list will show that even in the ancient time there was a scramble for supreme power amongst the old and new Ārya States, established in India. This must have contributed much to keep up the fighting qualities and martial spirit of the Āryas. It became a source of weakness when foreign kings coveted dominions in India and tried to take advantage of the jealousy between the Indian kings.

95. We shall now consider the effects of the old and the new Aśwamedha on the society of the Āryas in India. Before doing this, we will recapitulate the main parts of the old and the new Aśwamedha in a tabular form.

Old Aswamedha	New Aswamedha
1. The sacrifice was performed for 381 days and resembled the present Samvatsara Satra.	1. The sacrifice was performed for 381 days but did not resemble the Samvatsara Satra.
2. A horse was sacrificed on the last but one day but it was not made to roam over the territories of other states.	2. A horse was sacrificed on the last but one day but it was made to roam all the year for 360 days at the greatest over the territories of other states.
3. The sacrifice was performed by the chief public functionary of Brahṃāvarta.	3. The sacrifice was performed by a king of any state who thought his power supreme or who coveted supreme power.
4. New Mantras of R̥gveda, Yajurveda and Samaveda were composed on days named Chhandoma and used on the subsequent days.	4. No new Mantras were composed.
5. Public functionaries were invited, honoured and worshipped.	5. Public functionaries were not invited, worshipped or honoured.

These details will help us to estimate the effects of these Yajñas on the society.

96. The performance of the old Aśwamedha Yajña for 381 days in the fourth year, made up the difference between the civil year and the seasonal year and pointed correctly to the people the days when to expect rains and to commence their operations of cultivation. This is very well described in the following passage:

ऋतवो वै देवेषु यज्ञे भागं इषिरे । आ नो यज्ञे भजत मा नो यज्ञादंतर्गतास्त्वेव-
नोऽपि यज्ञे भाग इति ॥ १ ॥ तद्वै देवा न जज्ञुः । त ऋतवो देवेष्वजानत्स्वसुरानु-
पावर्तताप्रियान् देवानां द्विषतो भ्रातृव्यान् ॥ २ ॥ ते हैतामेधतुमेधां चक्रिरे
यामेषामेतामनुशृण्वन्ति । कृषतो ह स्मैव पूर्वं वपंतो यन्ति लुनंतोऽपरे सृणंतः शश्वदैभ्योऽ-
कृष्टपच्या एवौषधयः पेचिरे ॥ ३ ॥

—शतपथ, कांड १, अ. ६, ब्राह्मण १.

Translation:—The seasons wished to have a share in the Yajña along with the Gods (देवेषु). They said “Oh, give us a share (भजत) in the Yajña. Let us not be excluded (अंतर्गताः) from the यज्ञ (नः though in the accusative must be taken to be in the nominative). We have also got a share in the Yajña” ॥ 1 ॥ But the Devas did not know this, i.e., accept this. The Devas not

having accepted it, the seasons went to (अपावर्तत) the Asuras, disliked by the Devas (देवानाम् अप्रियान्), the enimical cousins (द्विषतोऽभ्रातृव्यान्) of the Devas ॥ 2 ॥ They (the Asuras) increased (एवाचक्रिरे) their prosperity (एषतुम्) which the Devas heard (शृण्वन्ति). At that time some of the Devas were ploughing (कृषन्तः). Some of them were sowing seed (वर्षन्तः). Some were reaping the harvest and some were threshing the ears of corns so that the Devas did not get a good harvest and always they had to depend upon what uncultivated land produced.

97. The worshipping and honouring of the public functionaries by offerings, etc., must have had great effect in social and political matters. It must have generated a keen sense of duty and consequent efficiency and honesty in the discharge of public functions, for, those that showed keen sense of duty, efficiency and honesty must have been worshipped, honoured more enthusiastically than others. It must also have attracted able and honest men to enter public service. Thus the political organization of the state must have become very smooth and effective.

98. The selection of poems newly composed, for being used in the Yajña and for being incorporated in the Vedas, must have stimulated poetry of a very high standard, poetry that placed high and correct ideals, before the people. Poets must have vied with each other to produce pure and beneficial poems praising the Devas and in the form of blessings prayed for, they must have put before the nation the correct objectives that ought to be sought. As a matter of fact the poetry of the Vedas is of a very high standard. The Mantra quoted in paragraph 92 will convince any body about this. So will do the last Mantra of Rigveda which runs as follows:

संगच्छध्वम् संवदध्वम् सं वो मनांसि जानतां । देवा भागं यथा पूर्वं संजानाना
उपासते ॥ २ ॥ समानो मंत्रः समितिः समानी समानं मनः सहचित्तेषां । समानं
मंत्रमभिमंत्रये वः समानेन वो हविषा जुहोमि ॥ ३ ॥ समानी व आकृतिः समाना
हृदयानि वः । समानमस्तु वो मनः यथावः सुसहासति ॥ ४ ॥

Translation:—Go together, that is, act in the same way. Speak together, i.e., speak the same thing. Let your minds know the same things, i.e., let the decisions of your minds be the same, so that you may attain great fortune (भागं) as the Devas did in former days, being of one decision (संजानाना) ॥ 2 ॥ Let your Counsel be one. Let your assembly be one. Let your

mind (desire) be the same and let your attention be directed to the same thing. I shall pray the same prayer for you all and I shall offer the same offering to the Devas for you all. Let your objective or purpose or ideal (आकृति) be one. Let your hearts be one. Let your minds be one so that you have (असति=अस्ति) great strength (सुसह) nominative of (सहन्) strength.

The composing of Mantras for the R̥gveda, Yajurveda and Sāmaveda stopped when Samhitās were prepared by Vyāsa, the grandfather of the Pāṇḍavas, i.e., about seventy years before the Bhārata War, i.e., about 1270 B.C. However, the Manus and the Saptarshis were appointed twice after that event. They, of course, did not select new poems for being used in the Yajña and being incorporated in the R̥gveda, Yajurveda and Sāmaveda but they appear to have selected the works called the Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas and Upanishads; for there is no other reason for their being regarded as parts of the Vedas and as authoritative. (It should be noted that though the "Bhagavadgeeta" is prior in date to many, i.e., the prose Upanishads, it was never regarded as part of the Vedas and that this must be the result of the fact that it was not selected by the Saptarshis. That "Bhagavadgeetā" is prior in date to all prose Upanishads is proved by the fact that in "ऋषिभिर्बहुधा गीतं छंदोभिर्विविधैः पृथक्" it refers only to metrical Upanishads. The reason for not selecting the "Bhagavadgeetā" to form part of the Vedas may very probably be the fact that it advocates Avatāravāda and the worship of a personal God in contrast to the Upanishads.) It is this selection by the Saptarshis that is the reason of their (of the Upanishads) unique agreement on principles of ethics and their excellence. In short the composing and the selection of the poems by Saptarshis, was a factor that contributed very much to the great excellence of the compositions of the poets and to the great enlightenment of the Ārya Society in India. To-day we do feel the necessity of such a selection.

99. Though the Ārya Society was really one, it was divided into several states. One supreme power was a great necessity of such a society at least to drive off foreign invaders and the new Aśwamedha was taking that Society on the way to the attainment of that ideal. Such was the great influence of the new Aśwamedha.

LECTURE IX

MARRIAGE

100. Good and abundant progeny is quite necessary for the continuance and well-being of the society. And that in turn depends upon a good system of marriage. We shall therefore now investigate into the marriage system of the Āryas.

101. If persons born of the same stock, *i.e.*, parents, marry each other, *the good and also the bad characteristics* of the parents, are intensified in the progeny. Even dormant characteristics become manifested in such a progeny. Therefore marriages between persons of the same stock are good as well as bad. It is the chief problem before the science of eugenics how to intensify in the progeny only the good characteristics of the parents and to prevent bad characteristics being so handed down. It is comparatively a very easy matter when the solution is to be applied to animals controlled by man. The solution in that case is to mate only individuals born of the same good stock, *i.e.*, parents having only good characteristics and to prevent any individual amongst their progeny manifesting dormant bad characteristics from procreating. But when the solution is to be applied to man the problem becomes most complicated and difficult, for man cannot be controlled as animals can be. It is therefore very interesting to know how the ancient Indians solved the problem.

102. Unfortunately our sources of information about the ancient law are very few. The “Vāyupurāṇa” or the “Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa” does not supply us with any information except that marriage was one of the institutions established by Ānanda Brahmā (see paragraph 31). We have therefore to search for the traces of the ancient law of marriage here and there.

103. The R̥gveda has got a passage that mentions a marriage law. It is as follows:

आयाहींद्र पथिभिरीळितेभिः ।

यज्ञमिमं नो भागधेयं जुषस्व ॥

तृतां जहुर्मातुलस्येव योषा ।

भागस्ते पैतृष्वस्तेयी वपामिव ॥

It has been translated as follows: "Come, Oh, Indra, by fine paths to this sacrifice and receive your share. They have offered you fat mixed with ghee: that is your share as the maternal uncle's daughter or paternal aunt's daughter is one's share in marriage." This shows that a man could marry his maternal uncle's daughter or paternal aunt's daughter in very ancient times. The Mahābhārata tells us that Arjuna married his maternal uncle's daughter Subhadrā (see Mahābhārata, Ādiparva, Chapters 219 and 220). The "Harivamśa" also tells us that Pradyumna, the son of Kṛishṇa and Rukmiṇī, was married to the daughter of Rukmi, i.e., his maternal uncle and that Pradyumna's son Aniruddha was married to a grand-daughter of Rukmi (see Chapter 61 of Viṣṇuparva). The custom of marrying maternal uncle's daughter is still prevailing in Southern India and it may have been taken there by the Āryas who colonized South India, before such marriages became prohibited in Northern India. The following passage in the "Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa" also supports the existence of such marriages in very ancient times:

तद्वा एतत् । समान एव कर्मन् व्याक्रियते । तस्माद् समानादेव पुरुषादत्ता चायश्च जायते । इदं हि चतुर्थे पुरुषे तृतीये संगच्छावह इति विदेवं दीव्यमाना जात्या आसत एतस्माद् तत् ॥ ६ ॥ —शतपथ ब्राह्मण, १.८.३.६.

Translation:—It is this: Good act becomes developed only in the similar. Therefore from the same person spring up both the enjoyer (the husband) and enjoyed (the wife). This is the reason why (इदं हि) the kinsfolk (जात्या) live (आसते) sporting and rejoicing (दीव्यमानाः), knowing that they can unite with a male (पुरुषे) in the fourth generation (चतुर्थे) if no female intervenes or in the third generation (तृतीये) if a female intervenes.

From all this, we can infer that in very ancient days also (1) a brother could not marry his sister, (2) a man could not marry his paternal uncle's daughter (चुलत बहीण), (3) that a man could marry a grand-daughter of his grandfather's brother (चुलत चुलत बहीण), (4) that he could also marry his maternal uncle's daughter or paternal aunt's or maternal aunt's daughter and that of course he could marry more distant relations.

104. If the more distant relatives were allowed to marry to intensify their common characteristics as the "Śatapatha" says, why not the nearer relatives who must have more common characteristics and must thus be similar in a stronger degree.

The following reason suggests itself: The nearer agnate relatives live in the same family under the same roof. If they were allowed to marry, untimely love may develop between them and that would be a great obstruction to the observance of celibacy that is quite necessary till the age of perfect maturity. A family generally breaks up before the springing up of the fourth generation; agnate relatives of the fourth generation do not therefore generally live under the same roof and they may therefore be allowed to marry. This appears to be rationale of the rule given above.

105. I have described above the relatives prohibited for marriage in very ancient times. Later on the relatives prohibited for marriage increased and also new prohibitions, *i.e.*, those of Gotra and Pravaras came into existence. That is well proved and described in S. V. Karandikar's "Hindu Exogamy" (see pages 100-01 of "Hindu Exogamy") and I shall not repeat it here. Now the question before us is—If so many near relatives were prohibited from marrying each other, how was the similarity said to be necessary by the "Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa" attained? By enjoining a man to marry a wife similar to himself though from another family or even from another Varṇa? The following passages show this:

Gautama says:

गृहस्थः सदृशीं भार्यां विदेतानन्यपूर्वाम् यवीयसीम् ॥ १ ॥ —अ. ४.

Vaśiṣṭha also says:

गृहस्थः . . . अस्पृष्टमैथुनां यवीयसीं सदृशीं भार्याम् विदेत ॥ १ ॥ —अ. ८.

Here the word सदृशी should be noted. It shows that a man was to marry one who was similar to himself, of course as regards good characteristics. It is thus a peculiarity of the marriage in ancient India that one was to marry a similar wife. Though he was allowed to marry a girl from another Varṇa he was to choose a girl that would be similar to himself, *i.e.*, would have the qualities of his own real Varṇa and he was to avoid a dissimilar girl though from his own Varṇa.

106. I have described above only one peculiarity of the marriage law in ancient times. One would like to know the whole marriage law as it stood before the new prohibitions of generations, Gōtras and Pravaras came into existence. The following passage describes that law in brief:

युधिष्ठिर उवाच ।

यन्मूलं सर्वधर्माणां प्रजनस्य गृहस्य च ।

(सृजनस्य)

पितृदेवातिथीनां च तन्मे ब्रूहि पितामह ॥ १ ॥

भीष्म उवाच ।

अयं हि सर्वधर्माणां धर्मश्चित्यतमो मतः ।

क्रीदशाय प्रदेयास्यात्कन्येति वसुधाधिप ॥ २ ॥

(क्रीदशस्य)

शीलवृत्ते समाज्ञाय विद्यां योनिं च कर्म च ।

अद्विरेव प्रदातव्या कन्या गुणवते भवेत् ॥ ३ ॥

(वरे)

ब्राह्मणानां सतामेष धर्मोऽनित्यं युधिष्ठिर ॥ ३ ॥

(ब्राह्मोधर्मो)

आर्षेण चावहेदेवं योदद्यादनुकूलिने ।

(आवाह्यमावहेदेवं) (योदद्यादनुकूलतः)

शिष्टानां क्षत्रियाणां च धर्म एष सनातनः ॥ ४ ॥

अप्यभिप्रेतमुत्सृज्य कन्याभिप्रेत एव सः ।

(आत्माभिप्रेत)

(यः)

अभिप्रेता च या यस्य तस्मै देया युधिष्ठिर ॥ ५ ॥

गांधर्वमिति तं धर्मं आहुर्धर्मविदोजनाः ॥ ६ ॥

(ग्राहुर्वेदविदो)

धनेन बहुधा क्रीत्वा संप्रलोभ्य च बांधवान् ।

असुराणां नृपाणां वै धर्ममाहुर्मनीषिणः ॥ ७ ॥

(नृपैतं वै)

हत्वा छित्वा च शीर्षाणि रुदतीं सुदतीं गृहात् ॥

(रुदतां रुदतीं)

प्रसह्य हरणं तात राक्षसं धर्मलक्षणम् ॥ ८ ॥

(राक्षसो विधिरुच्यते)

सुप्तां मत्तां प्रमत्तां वा रहो यत्रोपगच्छति ॥

(रात्रौ च)

स पापिष्ठो विवाहानां पैशाचः कथितोऽधमः ॥ ९ ॥

पंचानां तु त्रयोधर्म्या द्वावधर्म्यौ युधिष्ठिर ।

पैशाश्चाशुरश्चैव न कर्तव्यौ कथंचन ॥ १० ॥

ब्राह्मः क्षात्रोऽथ गांधर्व एते धर्म्या नरर्षभ ।
 पृथग्वा यदि वा मिश्राः कर्तव्या नात्र संशयः ॥ ११ ॥
 तिस्रो भार्या ब्राह्मणस्य द्वे भार्ये क्षत्रियस्य तु ।
 वैश्यः स्वजात्यां विदेत तास्वपत्यं हितायते ॥ १२ ॥
 (समं भवेत्)
 द्विजस्य ब्राह्मणी श्रेष्ठा क्षत्रिया क्षत्रियस्य तु ।
 रत्नार्थमपि शूद्रा स्यात् नेत्याहुरपरे जनाः ॥ १३ ॥
 अपत्यजन्म शूद्रायां न प्रशंसन्ति साधवः ।
 शूद्रायां जनयन् विप्रः प्रायश्चित्तमवाप्नुयात् ॥ १४ ॥
 (प्रायश्चित्ती विधीयते)
 नातिबालां बहुल्यन्त्ये अनित्यत्वात्प्रजार्थिनः ।
 बहून्तु कर्मिणस्तस्यामन्तःशुद्धिव्यपेक्षया ॥ १५ ॥
 अपरान्वयसंभूतां दुःस्वप्नादिविवर्जिताम् ।
 कामो यस्यां निषिद्धश्च केचिदिच्छन्ति चापदि ॥ १६ ॥

The preceding two verses are not found in the Bombay edition on which Nīlakaṇṭha has commented.

त्रिंशद्वर्षो दशवर्षा यो विदेत न नम्रिकाम् ।
 (त्रिंशद्वर्षो दशवर्षा भार्या विदेत नम्रिकाम्)
 एकविंशतिवर्षो वा सप्तवर्षमवाप्नुयात् ॥ १७ ॥
 यस्यास्तु न भवेद्भ्राता पिता माता च भारत ।
 (वा भरतर्षभ)
 नोपगच्छेत तां जातु पुत्रिकाधर्मिका हि सा ॥ १८ ॥
 (नोपयच्छेत) (धर्मिणी)
 त्रीणि वर्षाण्युदीक्षेत कन्या ऋतुमती सती ।
 चतुर्थेत्वथ संप्राप्ते स्वयं भर्तारमाव्रजेत् ॥ १९ ॥
 (मर्जयेत्)
 प्रजा न हीयते तस्या रतिश्च भरतर्षभ ।
 अतोऽन्यथा वर्तमाना भवेद्वाच्या प्रजापतेः ॥ २० ॥
 असपिंडा च या मातुरसगोत्रा च या पितुः ।
 इत्येतामुपयच्छेत तं धर्मं मनुरब्रवीत् ॥ २१ ॥
 (मनुगच्छेत)

—महाभारत, अनुशासन पर्व, अ. ४४, in the Bombay edition.

Note.—I have given above the text as given in the "Southern Recension", edited by P. P. S. Sastri, B.A. (Oxon.), M.A., and I have given the variations found in the text commented upon by Nīlakaṇṭha, below the text of the

"Southern Recension" in brackets. The ninth verse is not found in Nīlkanṭha's text but the 10th verse clearly shows that the 9th verse must have formed part of the original. The verses 15 and 16 must also have formed part of the original; for there can be no motive for interpolating them but there can be a motive for deleting them. The 10th verse is found in the present "Manusmṛiti" also but it is clear that the editor of that "Manusmṛiti" has taken it from the "Anuśāsanaparva; for that "Manusmṛiti" mentions eight forms of marriages and therefore the word "पञ्चानां" (of the five) does not fit in there, i.e. in the "Manusmṛiti". This also shows that the "Anuśāsanaparva" is earlier in date than the present "Manusmṛiti". In verse 15 there is also the reading "न स्त्री बालम्" for "नान्दाला". In the 17th verse for "दशवर्षम्" another reading "षोडशाह्वम्" has been given in निगयसिंधु in the section about the age for the marriage of girls and that appears to be the original reading; for the second half of the verse enjoins a difference of fourteen years between the ages of the husband and the wife and the author must have enjoined the same difference in the first half and moreover there is no necessity of qualifying दशवर्षम् by the word नम्रिकम् but there is necessity of qualifying षोडशाह्वम् by the word नम्रिकां, i.e., "one who has not started menstruating". The note in the Madras Recension shows that the latter half of the 20th verse and the 21st verse are not found in some manuscripts. The first half of the 21st verse is the same as the first half of the 5th verse of the third chapter in the present "Manusmṛiti". The reading of this first half as given in the "Mitāksharā", the famous commentary on "Yājñavalkya Smṛiti" under verse 53 is "असपिंडा च या मातुः असपिंडा च या पितुः" and that author has based his arguments upon that reading (अत्र चा सपिंडमित्यनेन पितृष्वसमातृष्वसादिदुहितृ निषेधः). This shows that either the 21st verse is an interpolation here or at least that the correct reading for "असगोत्रा" is "असपिंडा" in the present "Manusmṛiti" and the "Mahābhārata". There are also other strong arguments that support the same conclusion. If in the "Manusmṛiti", we accept the reading असगोत्रा as the correct one, we have the absurd result that Manu does not prohibit marriage with father's Sapiṇḍas, this prohibition not having been mentioned by him anywhere else. Moreover Manu has not penalized marriages between persons of the same Gotra though he has penalized other marriages prohibited by him. Mr. Karandikar would have done better if he had concluded that the correct reading was "असपिंडा" and not "असगोत्रा". If the correct reading in the "Manusmṛiti" is असपिंडा, that in the "Mahābhārata" cannot be otherwise. As this passage in the "Mahābhārata" does not give prohibited relations in any verse other than this, we have to infer that this verse is not interpolated and that the original reading in it is असपिंडा च या पितुः.

Translation:—Yudhishtira said "Oh grandfather, tell me that which is the origin or basis (मूलम्) of all Dharmas, of procreation, of family and of worship of fathers, Devas and guests." Bhishma said "Oh King, to a person of what description is a girl to be given? This of all Dharmas is the Dharma that ought to

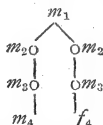
be given the greatest consideration || 2 || A girl should be given with water, to a man having good qualities or merits after having known his character, occupation (वृत्त), learning, descent (योनि) and actions || 3 || This is the Brāhma Dharma of virtuous Brāhmaṇas that he who wants to give the girl to a man conformable to her (or similar to her "अनुकूलिने" अनुकूलिने here appears to be equivalent to "अनुरूपिणे") should invite a man who deserves invitation (and should give the girl to him). This is the ancient Dharmā of the virtuous Kshatriyas (शिष्टानां क्षत्रियाणां) || 4 || Oh Yudhishṭhira, to give the girl to him who desires her and whom the girl desires, having avoided one who is desired by himself (i.e., the giver) || 5 || This is called the Gāndharva Marriage by those who are learned in Dharma || 6 || Wise men call this, Oh King, the Dharma of the Asuras, to marry a girl by purchasing her by wealth of various kinds and by bribing her relatives || 7 || This is the characteristic of Rākshasa Dharma, to carry away from her house by force, a bewailing girl disregarding her bewailing relatives and after killing and cutting off the heads of her relatives || 8 || This is said to be worst and the most sinful kind of marriage named Paiśācha where a man enjoys in secret a sleeping intoxicated (मत्ता) and unconscious (प्रमत्ता) girl || 9 || Oh Yudhishṭhira, of these five forms of marriages three are good (Dharmya) and two are bad (Adharmya). The Paiśācha and Āsura should never be resorted to || 10 || The Brāhma, the Gāndharva and the Kshātra (named Rākshasa in the previous verse) forms of marriages are good. There is no doubt that these should be resorted to whether pure or mixed || 11 || A Brāhmaṇa can marry girls of the three Varṇas, namely Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya and Vaiśya. A Kshatriya can marry girls of two Varṇas, namely Kshatriya and Vaiśya. A Vaiśya should marry a girl of his own Varṇa. The progeny of the wives of the different Varṇas (तासु) will be equal (समं), i.e., of the Varṇa of the father (see paragraph 34) || 12 || But the girl of the Brāhmaṇa Varṇa is the best for the Brāhmaṇa (द्विजस्य), the girl of the Kshatriya Varṇa is the best for a Kshatriya. Some say that they can marry a Śūdrā for the sake of enjoyment only and some say that they cannot marry a Śūdrā || 13 || Good men do not praise the birth of a child from a Śūdrā thus married by men of the higher Varṇas. If a Brāhmaṇa begets a child from a Śūdrā, he has to perform expiation || 4 || Some men desirous of progeny do not marry

a very young girl, for there is no certainty of getting progeny from her (अनित्यत्वात्). But those who are intent upon doing good acts (कर्मिणः=कर्मठा) marry a very young girl, being desirous of internal purity || 15 || They marry a girl born in another family (अपरान्वयसंभूताम्) and free from defects like bad-sleep (दुःस्वप्न), i.e., somnambulism, etc. Some say that even a girl, marriage with whom is prohibited, may be married if there is difficulty in obtaining a girl || 16 || A man of thirty years should marry a girl of sixteen years who has not started menstruating, or a man of twenty-one years should marry a girl of seven years || 17 || One should not marry a girl who has no brother, father or mother for she is a Putrikā, i.e., her children would, by law, belong to her father and not to her husband || 18 || A menstruating girl should wait for three years and see if her father or other guardian gives her to a husband. But when the fourth year arrives, she herself should obtain her husband || 19 || Her enjoyment or her progeny are not inferior. If she behaves otherwise she becomes censurable by Prajāpati || 20 || Manu has laid down the law that one should marry a girl who is not सपिंड (असपिंडा) either of the mother or of the father || 21 ||

107. The word “अनुकूलिने” in the fourth verse and the phrases गुणवते, etc., in the third verse show that in those days similarity in good qualities between the husband and the wife was enjoined upon. The girls to be prohibited in marriage are mentioned by the word अपरान्वयसंभूताम् and by the word असपिंडा in the 21st verse. What is the meaning of these words? In the original “Manusmṛiti”, they must have meant the same thing as the words in the “Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa” previously quoted. The word अन्वय is derived from the root इ with अनु or अय with अनु which means “to follow” or “to go after”. The word अन्वय therefore means etymologically (वैगिकार्थेन) the group of followers or following. When the society was in the wandering stage, a man moved from place to place and his wife and children followed him. Therefore, in that stage the word अन्वय came to mean “a family”. A family consists of the descendants of a man; therefore ultimately the word अन्वय came to mean all the descendants of a man. This is the conventional meaning (रूढार्थ) of the word. This is a very extended meaning; because a family generally breaks up when grandsons grow up to maturity and does not include great-grand-children. The word अन्वय

therefore means the descendants of a man upto the second degree, *i.e.*, his children and grand-children only and in a very extended sense all descendants of a man.

We must hold that in the passage under consideration the word अनव्य had not the very extended meaning; for otherwise the marriages of Śrī Rāma and his brothers with Sītā and her cousins would never have been possible they being descendants of Vaivaswata Manu in the male line. The sentence “अपरानव्य संभूता बहन्ति” therefore means only that a man should not marry a girl in his own family, *i.e.*, his sister or a daughter of his paternal uncle, but that he can marry a great-grand-daughter of his great-grandfather or a more distant relative. This exactly agrees with the statement “चतुर्थे पुरुषे संगच्छावहे” in the “Śatapatha



Brāhmaṇa”. See the lines of descent given above. The word सपिंड too has got two meanings given to it by different commentators but can have also a third meaning that may be in vogue in very ancient times and it is “persons generally messing together”. If we take that meaning of “सपिंड” in the 21st verse in this passage, we get exactly the rule given in the “Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa”. A woman’s Sapindas are only her brothers and sisters and her brother’s or sister’s daughters are not her Sapindas; for it is her brothers and sisters only with whom she messes together in her childhood. A man’s Sapindas however are his sons and daughters and grandsons and grand-daughters. He has no occasion or very rare occasion to mess with his great-grandsons or great-grand-daughters and therefore they are not his Sapindas. A man’s sister’s daughter is not his Sapinda for the same reason. These are the only Sapindas of a woman and a man and these are the only relations that are to be avoided by their son in marriage according to the “Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa”. We cannot therefore avoid the conclusion that सपिंड means only those relations that generally messed together and these only were to be avoided in marriage in very ancient times.

108. It is a very difficult question to solve how the present Sept exogamy and the Sapiṇḍa exogamy arose. Many solutions are offered but they are not satisfactory. Even the explanation offered by Mr. Karandikar does not appear satisfactory. He says that the Sept exogamy was borrowed by the Āryas from the aborigines, to show to the aborigines that they (the Āryas) were more pure than the aborigines and thereby to obtain moral victory over them. But we do not find this purity enjoined in the passage in the "Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa" quoted above. That Brāhmaṇa was written in the reign of Janamejaya the great grandson of the Pāṇḍavas, *i.e.*, in the year 1150 B.C. approximately. And by that time the Brāhmaṇas had already obtained moral victory over the Āryas and the aborigines at least in Northern India. Why did the Brāhmaṇas then find it necessary to adopt the exogamy of the aborigines after that time, if they did not find it necessary to do so before? This objection disproves the theory of Mr. Karandikar also. I therefore propose another explanation of the origin of the Sept and Sapiṇḍa exogamy of the later days. It is this. The words अन्वय and सपिण्ड must have been used in the original "Manusmṛiti" as they are used in the passage quoted in paragraph 106. In fact they must have been borrowed in that passage from the original "Manusmṛiti". The denotation of these words was however extended on account of undue reverence to the old book, the original "Manusmṛiti" after the theory of the non-human origin (अपौरुषेयवाद) of the Vedas came into existence; because restrictions in such books must be construed as widely as possible. The meaning of the word अन्वय was thus extended to that of the Gotra, *i.e.*, to all the descendants of the same person and the meaning of the word Sapiṇḍa was extended to all who receive Pindas from and give Pindas to a man in the Śrāddha ceremony, *i.e.*, to seven generations. Of course while doing this it was wrongly supposed that all persons having the same Pravara were descendants of one person. The theory of the non-human origin of the Vedas arose some time after the Buddha to counteract Buddhism and these two exogamies also arose about the same time. Boudhāyana is the first writer to describe Sept exogamy in details and slight references to the same in Gautama and Vasiṣṭha are very probably interpolations. The date of Boudhāyana is undoubtedly some time after Buddha. Therefore we can

safely conclude that the Sept exogamy and Sapiṇḍa exogamy arose after Buddha from the idea that restrictions in divine works like the "Manusmṛiti" should be construed as widely as possible.

109. From what we have seen above it is clear that Sept exogamy and Sapiṇḍa exogamy of to-day were not in existence in very ancient times, and that a girl could then be married to the third male descendant of the common ancestor if no female intervened anywhere and to the second if any female intervened. We have now to consider some other features of the marriage of the ancient times. One of these features and a very important one is that a man could marry more wives than one at one and the same time though monogamy generally prevailed. The evidence about this is so enormous and so well known that I need not repeat it here. [Those desiring to know it can find it in Chapter 3 of Dr. A. S. Altekar's "The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization" and in Chapter 18 (f) of J. J. Meyer's "Sexual Life in Ancient India"]. Other features are the re-marriage of widows and the Niyoga. That widows could be re-married in very ancient times is very clear from the history of Dīrghatamas given in Chapter 104 of Ādiparva of the "Mahābhārata". He was blind from his birth but was learned in the Vedas and therefore got a beautiful wife. But the wife had to labour to maintain him and her children he being blind. She therefore hated him and abandoned him. On this occasion Dīrghatamas ordained a new law prohibiting the re-marriages of widows. He says:

अथ प्रभृति मयादा मया लोके प्रतिष्ठिता ॥ ३४ ॥

एक एव पतिर्नार्या यावज्जीवम् परायणं ।

मृते जीवति वा तस्मिन् नापरं प्राप्नुयान्नरम् ॥ ३५ ॥

अभिगम्य परं नारी पतिष्यति न संशयः ।

अपतीनां तु नारीणां अथ प्रभृति पातकम् ॥ ३६ ॥

यद्यस्तिचेद्धनं सर्वे वृथाभोगा भवन्तु ताः ।

अकीर्तिः परिवादाश्च नित्यं तासां भवन्तु वै ॥ ३६ ॥

—महाभारते, आदिपर्वणि, अध्यायः १०४.

Translation:—From this day I have established a new limitation, i.e., law in this society ॥ 34 ॥ So long as a woman lives, she shall have only one husband, to resort to (परायणम्). Whether

the husband lives or is dead, she shall not be entitled to get another husband || 35 || A woman shall undoubtedly degrade herself by co-habiting with any person other than her husband. From this day also, those women that do not marry shall be regarded as sinful || 36 || Even though such unmarried women have got all kinds of wealth (सर्वं धनम्—सर्वे appears to be a misprint or misreading for सर्वम्) their enjoyment will be of no avail to them (वृथामोगः), i.e., the children born from that enjoyment will not belong to them but will belong only to the man who enjoys them and such unmarried women will always get notoriety and censure || 37 ||

The date of this Dīrghatamas appears to be about 1425 Kalpa Era, i.e., 1677 B.C. he being described as the contemporary of Bali whose date has been proved in paragraph 58 to be 1424-28 Kalpa Era.

Thus this passage will show that uptil about Kalpa Era 1425, widows could re-marry after the death of their husbands.

But even after this, girls whose marriage was not consummated by cohabitation, could re-marry if their husband died before the consummation of marriage. This is clearly stated in the following passage:

पाणिग्रहे मृते बाला केवलं मंत्रसंस्कृता ।

साचेदक्षतर्यानिः स्यात् पुनः संस्कारमर्हति ॥ ६६ ॥

—वसिष्ठस्मृतिः, अ. १७.

Translation:—If the husband of a girl dies and if she has been united with him only by the Mantras but not by co-habitation, she deserves to be married again.

There are similar passages in other Smṛitis also.

The Niyoga could be performed after the death of a husband or even during the life-time of a husband. A husband while living ordered his wife to cohabit with a certain man for getting children from him after making an agreement with him that the children would not belong to him. After the death of a husband his relatives ordered his wife to cohabit with a certain man for getting children from him after making an agreement with him that the children would not belong to him. In both cases the children belonged to the husband. This is what is called Niyoga. A son born from Niyoga was regarded

as the next best to Aurasa, *i.e.*, a son procreated by man from his own wife. Vasiṣṭha says:

द्वादश इत्येव पुत्राः पुराणदृष्टाः ॥ १२ ॥

स्वयमुत्पादितः स्वक्षेत्रे संस्कृतायां प्रथमः ॥ १३ ॥

तदलाभे नियुक्तायां क्षेत्रजो द्वितीयः ॥ १४ ॥

Translation:—"There are twelve kinds of sons mentioned in the Purāṇas. The first is the son procreated by a man himself on his own wife married to him by Mantras (संस्कृतायाम्). The second is the son called Kshetraraja who is born from one's wife ordered, on account of non-acquisition of the first kind of son (तदलाभे) to cohabit with another man (नियुक्तायाम्)".

The evidence about the Niyoga is enormous and well known and I need not give it here.

Our more peculiarity of the Indian marriage institution must be noted. Sexual enjoyment was not regarded as the sole objective of marriage. Male progeny was also regarded as one of the objectives of marriage. It was therefore that Niyoga was allowed. But Niyoga also is not a certain means of getting male progeny. Therefore adoption of a son also was allowed. A father or mother could give his or her son in adoption to another or a boy having no father or mother living may be taken as a son. The adopted son grew in importance as Niyoga disappeared.

110. I shall not deal with the ceremonial of the marriage; for, each society has its own peculiar ceremonial and one is as good as the other. Therefore I shall now describe the legal effect of marriage. We have to consider this from the stand-points: (1) rights of co-habitation, *i.e.*, काम; (2) ownership of children, *i.e.*, प्रजा; (3) rights to property, *i.e.*, अर्थ; and (4) religious functions, *i.e.*, धर्म. In the present day from, I believe, about 2000 B.C. the husband takes the oath "धर्मे चार्थे च कामे च नातिचरामि" meaning "I shall not transgress thee in Dharma, Artha and Kāma". This means that he shall not cohabit with another woman, that he makes her joint owner of his property and that he shall perform all religious functions jointly with her. I think the word Kāma also includes the progeny born out of it and therefore the oath also means that the children born from it shall belong to both. Let us see what was the state of things in ancient days with respect to all these four points.

111. As regards cohabitation in very ancient days the following passage is very significant. The passage runs as follows:

पांडुरुवाच

अथत्विदं प्रवक्ष्यामि धर्मतत्त्वं निबोध मे ।
 पुराणमृषिभिर्दृष्टं धर्मविद्धिर्महात्मभिः ॥ ३ ॥
 अनावृताः किल पुरा स्त्रिय आसन् वरानने ।
 कामचारविहारिण्यः स्वतंत्राश्चारुहासिनि ॥ ४ ॥
 तासां व्युच्चरमाणानां कौमारात्सुभगे पतीन् ।
 नाधर्मोऽभूत् वरारोहे स हि धर्मः पुराऽभवत् ॥ ५ ॥
 प्रमाणदृष्टो धर्मोऽयम् पूज्यते च महर्षिभिः ।
 उत्तरेषु च रंभोरु कुरुष्वद्यापि पूज्यते ॥ ७ ॥
 स्त्रीणामनुग्रहकरः स हि धर्मः सनातनः ।
 अस्मिन्स्तु लोके नचिरान्मर्यादेयं शुचिस्मिते ॥ ८ ॥
 स्थापिता येन यस्माच्च तन्मे विस्तरतः शृणु ।
 बभूवोऽहलकोनाम महर्षिरिति नः श्रुतम् ॥ ९ ॥
 श्वेतकेतुरितिख्यातः पुत्रस्तस्याभवन्मुनिः ।
 मर्यादेयं कृता तेन धर्म्या वै श्वेतकेतुना ॥ १० ॥
 कोपात्कमलपत्राक्षि यदर्थं तन्निबोध मे ।
 श्वेतकेतोः किल पुरा समक्षं मातरं पितुः ॥ ११ ॥
 जग्राह ब्राह्मणः पाणौ गच्छाव इति चाब्रवीत् ।
 ऋषिपुत्रस्तदा कोपं चकारामर्षचोदितः ॥ १२ ॥
 मातरं तां तथादृष्ट्वा नीयमानां बलादिव ।
 कुब्जं तं तु पिता दृष्ट्वा श्वेतकेतुमुवाच ह ॥ १३ ॥
 मा तात कोपं कार्षीस्त्वं एष धर्मः सनातनः ।
 अनावृता हि सर्वेषां वर्णानामंगना भुवि ॥ १४ ॥
 यथागावः स्थितास्तात स्वे स्वे वर्णे तथा प्रजाः ।
 ऋषिपुत्रोऽथ तं धर्मं श्वेतकेतुर्न चक्षमे ॥ १५ ॥
 चकार चैव मर्यादामिमां स्त्रीपुंसयोर्भुवि ।
 तदाप्रभृति मर्यादा स्थितेयमिति नः श्रुतम् ॥ १६ ॥
 व्युच्चरंत्याः पतिं नार्याः अथप्रभृतिपातकम् ॥ १७ ॥
 भ्रूणहत्यासमं घोरं भविष्यत्यसुखावहम् ।
 भार्या तथा व्युच्चरतः कौमारब्रह्मचारिणीम् ॥ १८ ॥
 पतिव्रतामेतदेव भविता पातकं भुवि ।
 पत्या नियुक्ता या चैव पत्नी पुत्रार्थमेव च ॥ १९ ॥

न करिष्यति तस्याश्च भविष्यति तदेव हि ।

इति तेन पुरा भीरु मर्यादा स्थापिता बलात् ॥ २० ॥

उद्दालकस्य पुत्रेण धर्म्या वै श्वेतकेतुना ।

ऋतावृतौ राजपुत्रि स्त्रिया भर्ता पतिव्रते ॥ २५ ॥

नातिवर्तव्य इत्येवं धर्मं धर्मविदो विदुः ।

शेषेष्वन्येषु कालेषु स्वातन्त्र्यं स्त्री क्लृप्तमिति ॥ २६ ॥

—महाभारत, आदिपर्व, अ. १२२.

Translation:—The King Pāṇḍu said to his wife Kunti: “I shall now tell this old principle of Dharma seen by great souled Rishis knowing Dharma. Hear it from me ॥ 3 ॥ It is well known, oh, best-faced, sweet-smiling woman, that in ancient times women were unrestricted, independent and enjoyed whomever they liked (कामचारविहारिण्यः) ॥ 4 ॥ Oh fortunate woman (सुभगे) of best hips (वरारोहि) even if they transgressed their husbands from before their marriage (कौमारत्) they did not commit Adharma: for formerly that was the Dharma ॥ 5 ॥ This Dharma which is seen even in authoritative books (प्रमाणदृष्टः—commentator Nilakaṇṭha here cites “न कांचन स्त्रियं परिहरेत् । तद्वन्नतम्” in छांदोग्योपनिषद्, २.१३) is respected (पूज्यते) by the great Rishis and is respected even now, oh woman of thighs like the plantain tree, in Uttara Kurus (the country now called Russian Turkasthana, the country north of Afghanistansthana—see my book “Astronomical Method, etc.,” paragraph 353 note) ॥ 7 ॥ That old Dharma was very favourable and beneficial to the women. Oh woman of holy smile, hear from me in details why and who established this present limitation in this society (अस्मिन् लोके) at a time not very distant from our time (अचिरात्). We hear, that there was a great Rishi named Uddālaka ॥ 9 ॥ He had a thoughtful (मुनिः) son named Śwetaketu. This limitation, i.e., law laying down Dharma (धर्म्या) was established by that Śwetaketu ॥ 10 ॥ through anger. Oh lotus-petal-eyed woman, hear from me why he did this. It is well known (क्लि) that in the old time (पुरा) a Brāhmaṇa caught hold of Śwetaketu’s mother at her hand in his father’s presence and said “let us go”. Then the son of the Rishi became very angry being provoked by intolerance, seeing that his mother was being carried away as if by force. But the father said to Śwetaketu, seeing that he had become angry ॥ 13 ॥ “Oh boy, don’t be angry. This is a very old Dharma that the women of all Varnas are unrestricted in

this Earth || 14 || and that all people (प्रजाः) behave in their respective *Varṇas* like cows and bullocks (गावः).” But Śwetaketu, the son of the Rishi, did not tolerate that Dharma || 15 || and made this limitation about the behaviour of males and females in this world. We hear that this limitation stands from that time. This is the limitation made by Śwetaketu “From this day, a woman who transgresses her husband || 17 || shall get the dreadful (घोरं) unhappy (असुखावहं) sin equivalent to the killing of a child in the womb. And a husband who transgresses his devoted wife (पतिव्रतां), living the life of celibacy from before her marriage will get the same sin on this earth. But a wife who having been ordered by her husband to cohabit with another man for the purpose of getting a son, does not obey that order, shall also get the same sin.” Oh timid woman, this limitation of Dharma was formerly forcibly established by Śwetaketu, the son of Uddālaka. Oh princess, devoted to your husband (पतिव्रते), those who know Dharma know this Dharma, that a wife should not transgress her husband during *Ritus* (i.e., the period of sixteen days after the commencement of menses supposed to be favourable for conception) and that at other times the wife deserves independence || 26 ||

This passage gives the social history of a very ancient date. We can ascertain that date also with much accuracy by the help of the following verse in Chapter 134 of the *Vanaparva*. The Chapters 132–34 describe how Śwetaketu the son of Uddālaka and his sister’s son Ashtāvakra went to the *Yajña* of Janaka and there defeated one Bāndee. This Bāndee says:

अहं पुत्रो वरुणस्योत्तं राज्ञः ।
तत्रास सत्रं द्वादशवार्षिकं वै ॥
सत्रेण ते जनक तुल्यकालम् ।
तदर्थं ते प्रहिता मे द्विजाग्रयाः ॥ २४ ॥

Translation:—Oh Janaka, I am the son of King Varuṇa. There was there, i.e., at the house of Varuṇa, the Satra named *Dwādaśavārshika* Satra the time of which was the same as that of your Satra. I sent your Brāhmaṇas for that Satra of Varuṇa.

I have shown that *Dwādaśavārshika* Satra was performed at the end of every thousand years and that it was first performed in the reign of Purūravas about the year 2102 B.C. and at the second time after the Pāṇḍavas about the year 1102 B.C. (see

paragraphs 339-41 of my book "The Astronomical Method, etc.")). The date of Śwetaketu and of the social change effected by him must therefore be about Kalpa Era 1000, *i.e.*, 2102 B.C., *i.e.*, about 900 years before the Pāṇḍavas. This can agree with the words "न चिरात्" in the passage under consideration.

This passage shows that husband's exclusive right to enjoy his wife and wife's exclusive right to enjoy her husband arose only about Kalpa Era 1000, *i.e.*, 2102 B.C. and before that time a man could enjoy the wife of any man of his own Varṇa.

112. Now here, it may be asked, "What was the meaning of marriage if the wife had such freedom?" This brings us to the consideration of ownership of children. The present "Manu-smṛiti" discusses this point in the ninth chapter in verses 31-56. The most important of these verses are:

यदन्यगोषु वृषभो वत्सानां जनयेच्छतम् ।
 गोमिनामेव ते वत्साः मोघं स्कंदितमार्धभम् ॥ ५० ॥
 तथैवाक्षेत्रिणो बीजं परक्षेत्रप्रवापिणः ।
 कुर्वति क्षेत्रिणामर्थं न बीजी लभते फलं ॥ ५१ ॥
 यथागोश्चोष्ट्रादासीषु महिष्यजाविकासु च ।
 नोत्पादकः प्रजाभागी तथैवान्यांगनाखपि ॥ ५२ ॥

Translation.—Even though an ox procreates a hundred calves from cows belonging to other men, the calves belong to the owners of the cows. The semen of the ox is fruitless, *i.e.*, gives no ownership of the calves to the owner of the ox ॥ 50 ॥ Similarly those who are not the owners of the Kshetra, *i.e.*, wife and throw their semen in another man's Kshetra, *i.e.*, wife produces fruit (अर्थं कुर्वति) for the owner of the Kshetra, *i.e.*, of the wife. The owner of the semen gets no fruit ॥ 51 ॥ As the procreator of progeny on cows, mares, she-camels, she-buffaloes, female slaves and sheep and goats (अजाविकासु) does not own the progeny, so a man procreating on the wives of others does not own the progeny ॥ 48 ॥

These verses clearly show that the husband, *i.e.*, the owner of the woman giving birth to a child becomes the owner of the child also. That the husband was regarded as the owner of his wife is clear from the fact that one of the ceremonials of marriage is the gift of the girl to the husband by her father, *i.e.*, her owner (कन्यादान). Some persons criticize the ancient Indian law on the

ground that it regarded women as chattel. I say, it would be more proper to say that the ancient Indian law regarded women as cattle so far as her progeny was concerned. The father is the owner of his daughter before her marriage and therefore he is the owner of her son born before marriage and he may keep this son to himself or transfer his ownership of this son to the person who marries her just as a cow is sold without her calf or with her calf. We therefore find both kinds of statements. Vāsishṭha quotes the following statement:

अप्रप्ता दुहिता यस्य पुत्रं विदेत तुल्यतः ।

पुत्री मातामहस्तेन दद्यात्पिङ्गं हरेद् धनं ॥ २५ ॥ —अ. १७.

Translation:—If a daughter not yet gifted to any person in marriage, gets a son from a man of equal position (Varṇa), the daughter's father gets a son thereby and that son gives Piṇḍa to this grandfather and takes his property.

In the Mahābhārata we find the following statement addressed by Śrī Kṛishṇa to Kārṇa just before the War:

कानीनश्च सहोदश्च कन्यायां यश्च जायते ।

बोढारं पितरं तस्य प्राहुः शास्त्रविदो जनाः ॥ ८ ॥

सौंसि कर्ण तथा जातः पांडोः पुत्रोऽसि धर्मतः ।

निग्रहाद् धर्मशास्त्राणामेहि राजा भविष्यसि ॥ ९ ॥

—उद्योगपर्व, अ. १४०.

Translation:—Those men who know Dharmasāstra say that the husband of a woman is the father, i.e., the owner of her son called Kāneena born before she was married (कानीनः कन्यायां यः जायते) and of her son who was in her womb at the time of the marriage (सहोदः) ॥ ८ ॥ Oh, Kārṇa, you are born in that manner and you are by law a son of Pāṇḍu. Come to the side of Pāṇḍavas (एहि) to press your rights (निग्रहात्) given to you by Dharmasāstras (धर्मशास्त्राणि) and you shall be the King, being the eldest son of Pāṇḍu ॥ ९ ॥

These passages show that before marriage the father is the owner of his daughter and her sons and that by marriage he transfers this ownership of his to the husband reserving to himself if he likes the ownership of her son born before marriage. It is because of the ownership of the husband over his wife, that a child borne by her after marriage belongs to the husband

though procreated by anybody else during his life time or after his death. Therefore, Vasiṣṭha says:

स्वयमुत्पादितः स्वक्षेत्रे संस्कृतायां प्रथमः ॥ १३ ॥

तदलाभे नियुक्तायां क्षेत्रजो द्वितीयः ॥ १४ ॥

Translation:—The son procreated by a man himself from a woman married to him (संस्कृतायाम्) and owned by him (स्वक्षेत्रे) is the first ॥ 13 ॥ If he has not got such a son, then the son of his wife, ordered to procreate a son from another man, is the second in order ॥ 14 ॥

Thus it has been clearly shown that in ancient times marriage meant, the transfer of ownership over a girl to the husband which gave the husband ownership over her children also.

113. Now we come to the third point, namely, the effect of marriage upon property (अर्थ). At the time of the marriage the husband takes the oath “धर्मे चार्थे च कामे च नातिचरामि”. A part of this means, I shall not transgress thee as regards my property (अर्थ=धन). By this oath the wife becomes the joint owner of her husband's property. Jaimini has expressed this view in the Sūtra “अर्थेन च समवेतत्वात्” ६.१.१४.

Translation:—A wife can perform a Yajña because she is also an owner (of the property of her husband). The present “Manu-smṛiti” also implies the same in the following verse:

ऊर्ध्वं पितुश्च मातुश्च समेक्ष्य भ्रातरः समम् ।

भजेरन् पैतृकं रिक्त्वं अनीशास्ते हि जीवतोः ॥ १०४ ॥ —अ. ९.

Translation:—After the death of both the father and the mother, the sons should come together and divide equally the property of the father. But they cannot do so (अनीशाः) when either of the parents are living.

This is the old law: for this verse prohibits the division of father's property by sons during mother's lifetime and Manu does not mention such a division anywhere else while Yājñavalkya enjoins such a division in the alternative in the verse:

पितुर्हर्षं विभजतां माताप्यशं समं हरेत् ॥ १२३ ॥ —अ. २.

Translation:—If the sons divide their father's property after the father's death the mother also should be given one equal share.

114. Now we come to the fourth point, the religious functions. A part of the oath taken by the husband at the time of marriage is धर्मे नातिचरामि, i.e., I shall not transgress thee in

Dharma. This means that whatever religious act he does, he has to do it jointly with his wife. Jaimini has stated this in the Sūtra

“स्वतोस्तु वचनात् एककर्म्मस्यात्” ॥ ६.१.१७.

Translation:—Though both the husband and the wife own property and can perform Yajña, both have to perform one Yajña jointly because the Śruti says so.

The sentence in the Śruti referred to in this Sūtra cannot be known with certainty. But as a matter of fact we find that several functions in the Yajña have been assigned to the wife. Therefore a man cannot perform Yajña alone. The wife is also said to obtain the fruit of the Yajña jointly with the husband.

114A. A kind of dissolution of marriage was also in existence in those ancient days. This is shown by the following passage in Vāsishṭha Smṛiti and similar passages in other Smṛitis. Vāsishṭha says:

“पौनर्भवश्चतुर्थः ॥ १९ ॥ या कौमारं भर्तारमुत्सृज्यान्यैः सह चरित्वा तस्यैव कुटुंबमाश्रयति सा पुनर्भूभवति ॥ २० ॥ या च क्लीबं पतितमुन्मत्तं वा भर्तारमुत्सृज्यान्यं पतिं विदंते मृते वा सा पुनर्भूभवति ॥ २१ ॥

Translation:—A son born from a Punarbhū woman is the fourth in order. A Punarbhū woman is one who leaves her husband married during her virginity, lives with others and then again returns to the family of her first husband. A woman who leaves her impotent, outcast or insane husband and obtains another husband or a woman who obtains another husband after the death of the former husband, is also a Punarbhū.

This clearly shows that a woman could leave her impotent, outcast or insane husband and marry another or that, at least, she could live with another man and obtain progeny from him and that she was not punished for this and her progeny was regarded as legal progeny of her second husband. This implies that her marriage with the former impotent, outcast or insane husband was automatically dissolved without the intervention of any court-of-law.

115. We have now to consider the merits of this system of marriage. (1) In that system a man could marry several wives and a widow could re-marry or procreate children by Niyoga. This arrangement must result in the abundance of progeny. (2) In that system again a man could marry a maternal uncle's or paternal aunt's or maternal aunt's daughter. That must have made marriage a very easy affair, not difficult like

the one in these days of Hunda and the two exogamies. This must have resulted also in the abundance of progeny. (3) As a man generally married his maternal uncle's or paternal aunt's or maternal aunt's daughter, of course avoiding a girl that had any bad characteristics and as a man having any bad characteristics must have been avoided by the parents of the girl, the similarity in good characteristics required by the science of eugenics was assured and must have resulted in the goodness of the progeny. (4) The prohibition of marriages between the nearest relatives was also good; as it must have prevented untimely disastrous love. The principle of prohibiting marriages only between persons living under the same roof and messing together (सविड) is a very intelligent devise necessary for the well-being of the individual and of the society. (5) The relation between the husband and the wife was not like that between the master and the slave but like that between two co-partners of a firm. The wife became by marriage the joint owner of her husband's property and the husband could not perform any religious function without her. As regards sexual enjoyment both had equal liberty before Śwetaketu and after him both were equally restricted. Under these circumstances the wife could never feel that she was the slave of her husband. On the contrary she must have felt the joy of being his equal partner. This must have contributed to the smoothness of the relations between the husband and the wife and the happiness of the family life. This is well expressed in the following verse in the present "Manusmṛiti":

संतुष्टो भार्यया भर्ता भर्त्रा भार्या तथैव च ।

यस्मिन्नेव कुले नित्यं कल्याणं तत्र वै ध्रुवम् ॥ ६० ॥ —अ. ३.

*Translation:—*There is certain (ध्रुवम्) perpetual (नित्यं) good (कल्याणं) in the family where the husband is pleased (gratified) by the wife and wife is pleased or gratified by the husband. To secure this good, the ancient law took care that the wife did not develop a feeling of slavery and consequent ill-will against her husband but that she developed a feeling of equality and satisfaction. This the law did by giving her equal rights in the husband's property and in the performance of religious functions and in sexual enjoyment.

On the whole then we can say that the ancient marriage system was well designed for the welfare of the society.

LECTURE X

THE PICTURE OF THE ANCIENT SOCIETY

116. I have now to draw a picture of the ancient society from the materials collected in the previous lectures. The work is extremely difficult, firstly because I am not accustomed to such a work and secondly because the picture is an everchanging one. I shall however try to draw the same as best as I can.

117. On account of the everchanging nature of the picture, it would be more convenient to draw several pictures corresponding to the several periods, namely (1) From the beginning of the Kalpa to 132 Kalpa Era, *i.e.*, 3102 B.C. to 2970 B.C.; (2) From 132 Kalpa Era to 432 Kalpa Era, *i.e.*, from 2970 B.C. to 2670 B.C.; (3) From 432 Kalpa Era to about 1000 Kalpa Era, *i.e.*, from 2670 B.C. to 2102 B.C.; (4) From 1000 Kalpa Era to Kalpa Era about 1800, *i.e.*, from B.C. 2102 to 1302 B.C.; (5) From Kalpa Era about 1800 to Kalpa Era about 2400, *i.e.*, from 1302 B.C. to 702 B.C.; (6) From Kalpa Era 2400 to Kalpa Era about 3600, *i.e.*, from B.C. 702 to 498 A.D.

The first period begins with the establishment of the state by Ānanda in Brahmāvarta and ends in the establishment of a republic in the same place. The second period covers the existence of that republic. The third period begins with the establishment of a kingdom in Brahmāvarta by Swāyambhuva Manu and continues till the beginning of colonizations outside Brahmāvarta. The fourth period extends from the beginning of these colonizations to the stopping of the composing of the new Mantras of the three Vedas. In the beginning of the fifth period the composing of the Vedas stopped and towards the end of this period, arose the theory of the अपौरुषेयत्व of the Vedas and the institution of the Manu and Saptarshis was forgotten. The sixth period is that of the composing of new Smṛitis by unauthorized persons and was followed by the present period of commentators of Śrutis and Smṛitis. My plan is to draw a complete picture of the first period and then to show the changes in that picture in the subsequent periods.

118. In the year 3102 B.C., *i.e.*, in the beginning of the Kalpa, Ānanda established a new state in the Brahmāvarta

assuming for himself the supreme office in the state named ब्रह्मा. He created a new constitution and made new laws. He first divided the society into four Varṇas or classes named Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra. The duty of the Brāhmaṇa was to study and to teach freely and to declare the law without being afraid of the Kshatriyas. The duty of the Kshatriya was to fight and to protect the society from violence. The duty of the Vaiśya was to produce grain and to feed the society and to supply it with other necessities of life. The duty of the Śūdra was to serve the other Varṇas, he himself having no intelligence, initiative and spirit. To study the Vedas and other sciences, to perform Yajñas and to make gifts was the duty of all the first three Varṇas; and procreation was the duty of all. The Brāhmaṇa alone had the right to accept gifts, and he was free from all taxation and punishment except expulsion from the State. Ānanda also established seven assemblies of public functionaries named भूर, भुवर्, स्वर्, महर, जन, तपस् and संत्य. The members of the first three assemblies were appointed by himself from men of the Brāhmaṇa Varṇa. Their term of office was a Kalpa, i.e., a period of four years. At the end of the Kalpa, they went to the fourth assembly named महर, and the previous members of the महर went to the fifth assembly named जन and the previous members of the जन went to the sixth assembly named तपस्. The members of the जन acted on ten occasions as members of the स्वर् also and the members of the तपस् stayed there for ten Kalpas and then they went to the seventh assembly named संत्य the assembly of the Brahmā himself. These members of the संत्यलोक were similar to the Brahmā in dress (रूप) and residence (विषय) and in power (ऐश्वर्य) except that the Brahmā had the supreme power.

The Manu and the seven Saptarshis were members of the assembly named स्वर्. They had very important public functions: (1) The first was the selection of men for the various Varṇas. Manu selected the Kshatriyas and the Vaiśyas and the Saptarshis selected the Brāhmaṇas; the remaining were, of course, the Śūdras. This selection was made every fourth year and was a necessity caused by the death of old men and birth of new men whose Varṇa it was necessary to settle. (2) The second function of the Manu and the Saptarshis was legislation. They made new laws by unanimous voting. The objective of legisla-

tion was taken to be the continuity of the society. They made laws or enunciated principles in the following six departments: (i) Yajña and Moral Philosophy (त्रयी), (ii) Occupations (वार्ता), (iii) Punishments (दंडनीति), (iv) Progeny, (v) Varnas, and (vi) Āśramas. The laws made by them and previously by the Brahmā Ānanda must have been embodied in a work corresponding to the present "Manusmṛiti". (3) The third function of the Saptarshis was the selection the new Mantras to be used in praising the Devas in the Aśwamedha Yajña. These Mantras or the laws made by Brahmā Ānanda and the Manusaptarshis were not reduced to writing but were handed down by tradition from mouth to mouth and it was one of the duties of the Brāhmaṇas to learn them by heart and to recite them truly and correctly when required.

Every man performed the private Yajñas in his own house but he had to take the help of at least four priests the अश्वर्यु, the होता, the उद्राता and the ब्रह्मा. The more complicated Yajñas required more priests. The priests were all Brāhmaṇas learned in Vedas. These Yajñas consisted of praising the natural powers named the Devas, throwing oblations for them in the fire and asking for blessing from them and giving gifts to the priests and others.

In addition to the private Yajñas, the public Yajña named Aśwamedha was performed every fourth year. This Yajña was performed for making the year complete, for honouring the public functionaries, and for praising the Natural powers and asking for blessings from them. The year was then taken to consist of 360 days, i.e., of twelve months of thirty days each. This is less than the seasonal year by about $5\frac{1}{4}$ days. The fourth year was therefore taken to consist of 381 days and at times (i.e., every 112th year) of 380 days. The Aśwamedha Yajña was performed during all these 381 or 380 days. This is what is meant by the phrase that the Aśwamedha was performed for making the year complete. The last six days were the most important. During the first three of these named छंदोम, the Saptarshis selected new Mantras composed by poets of those days for being sung in praise of the natural powers and the public functionaries and these Mantras were used in the following three days named दशममहः, महाव्रत and उदयनीय अतिरात्र. A horse was sacrificed in this Yajña on the last but one day named महाव्रत.

New public functionaries were appointed and took charge of their offices on the last day of the *Aśwamedha* (युगक्षये) (see paragraph 25).

The marriage system of those times was very convenient. The ceremony consisted of making an agreement, offering oblations to the fire and going seven steps with the wife, the seventh step being supposed to make the marriage irrevocable. Only the very nearest relations, brothers and sisters and children of brothers were prohibited from marrying each other; a man could not also marry his mother's sister. He could marry all other relations, for example, mother's sister's daughter, mother's brother's daughter or father's sister's daughter. A man of any of the first three *Varnas* could also marry a girl of any of those three *Varnas* if he thought the girl similar to him (सदृशी). In this respect there was no idea about the superiority or inferiority of the *Varnas*. A man of the first three *Varnas* could not marry a *Śūdra* woman or if he could her children were regarded as *Śūdras*. A *Śūdra* could not marry women of other three *Varnas*. A father could give his daughter in marriage. Before that he was the owner of his daughter and of her children. If a daughter was not given in marriage before the expiry of three years from the commencement of menses, the daughter could herself marry a husband of her own choice. Marriage did not mean exclusive right of cohabitation but it meant ownership over the woman and consequently over all children borne by her from any man whatsoever. She could not however cohabit with a man of a *Varna* different from that of her husband. By marriage a wife became the co-owner of her husband's property and the husband could not perform the *Yajñas* without her. Widow-marriage was allowed. A man could marry more wives than one. If marriage did not produce male progeny, *Niyoga* was resorted to. If that also failed in producing male progeny, adoption of a son was resorted to. There were only three *Āśramas* devised by *Ānanda Brahmā* (1) Studentship, (2) Married life in the family and (3) Retirement from family responsibilities without retirement from other social duties (प्रतिपत्ति आश्रम). The *Āśramas* now named Studentship for life and *Vānaprastha* and *Saṁnyāsa* were not then in existence or were not allowed by *Ānanda Brahmā*.

The art of writing was perhaps then unknown. The laws and the *Vedas* were learnt by heart by the *Brāhmaṇas* whose

duty it was to do so and were handed down from mouth to mouth.

119. The Brahmā Ānanda was the supreme head of this state established by himself. He ruled for thirty-three Kalpas, i.e., 132 years and then died.

Note.—This inference is made from the fact that names of only thirty-three Kalpas are given in Chapters 21, 22 and 23 of the “Vāyupurāṇa” and from the statement

ब्रह्मस्थानमिदं वापि यदा प्राप्तं त्वया विभो ।

तदाप्रभृति कल्पश्च त्रयस्त्रिंशत्तमोऽहसौ ॥ ४८ ॥

in Chapter 23 (*Translation*.—This is the thirty-third Kalpa since the time when you obtained this office of Brahmā.

His son Virajāḥ by name did not like to be the supreme head of the state.

ततः संवित्य भगवान् देवो नारायणः प्रभुः ।

तैजसं वै विरजसं सोऽसृजन् मानसं सुतं ॥ ८८ ॥

विरजास्तु महाभागः प्रभुत्वं भुवि नैच्छत ।

न्यासायैवाभवद् बुद्धिः प्रणीता तस्य पांडव ॥ ८९ ॥

—शांतिपर्व, अ. ५९.

The context shows that this Nārāyaṇa cannot be other than Ānanda Brahmā. In some such way a republic was established. This means that the supreme power in the state passed not to the son but to the seniormost member of the public assembly named सत्यलोक. In this republic, the laws about the Varnas and the Āśramas enjoined by Brahmā Ānanda remained in abeyance and there was much confusion. Even the composing of new Mantras may have stopped. This state of things continued for 300 years.

120. At the end of this period of the republic of 300 years, the people made Swāyambhuva Manu their leader and he established a kingdom, i.e., established the new office of a king and revived the system of Brahmā Ānanda in Kalpa Era 432, i.e., B.C. 2670. It was the special function of the king to punish the transgressors of the law. The king became the executive officer of the state. The other offices, even that of Brahmā, appear to have continued as before. The laws of Ānanda were reduced to writing. The laws about Varnas and Āśramas were reduced to writing by Swāyambhuva Manu and the laws about

Yajña and marriage and the Vedas embodying them were reduced to writing by the Saptarshis. Henceforth the new Mantras must also have been reduced to writing (see Yāska's statement साक्षात्कृतं धर्माण ऋषयो बभूवुः, etc., in paragraph 50). The Brāhmanas however continued to learn them by heart and to study them as it was their duty to do so. This was necessary to keep the laws and Vedas unmutilated and uncorrupted by interpolations or deletions.

The society was re-divided into Varṇas. The Manu adopted some men as his Kshatriya sons. These sons in their turn adopted some men as their sons. All these and the Manu were the Kshatriyas. The Vaiśyas were selected by Manu in the same way. The Saptarshis adopted some men as their sons. They were called Devas. The Devas in their turn adopted some men as their sons. They were called Pitarāḥ. The Saptarshis, Devas and Pitarāḥ were the Brāhmanas. All others were Śūdras. The Manu and the Saptarshis also were of course appointed every fourth year. The names of the first five sets of Manu and Saptarshis are known. The fifth, namely, Raivata Manu, introduced two automatically working laws by which man's position in the Varṇas became automatically fixed. These laws were: (1) that the progeny got the Varṇa of their father and (2) that a man's Varṇa fixed by his birth became changed to another Varṇa, if a man of that other Varṇa consented to the change. The two laws rendered unnecessary a new selection of Brāhmanas, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas every fourth year. Hence thenceforth the Manus and the Saptarshis though regularly appointed, did not exercise their function of re-distribution of the Varṇas till the time of Chākshusha Manu, i.e., 680 Kalpa Era (2422 B.C.) and their names are not therefore recorded and not known now. Chākshusha Manu re-distributed the Varṇas and thus removed accumulated anomalies and then the same state of things continued again till Kalpa Era 952 (2150 B.C.) when Vaivaswata Manu re-distributed the Varṇas and again removed accumulated anomalies.

121. About the end of the first Kali, i.e., about 1000 Kalpa Era (2102 B.C.) two new factors came into being: (1) Vaivaswata Manu established new colonies outside Brahmāvarta, i.e., in Ayodhyā, in Behar, where his son इक्ष्वाकु and grandson निमि were made kings and in Kurukshetra, where his daughter's son Purūravas was made a king. Other colonies must have followed. As a result the Ārya society became very much extended. The

new colonies did not establish it appears in their new states the system of public assemblies of *Brahmāvarta*; but they had their king and officers appointed by him, as their executive and they followed the laws that were in force in *Brahmāvarta*. They wanted to perform the *Aśwamedha* in their states; but their right to perform it being disputed by the authorities of *Brahmāvarta* and other states, a new form of *Aśwamedha* came into existence. A horse was let loose by the performer of the *Aśwamedha* and if after roaming over all the *Ārya* states it returned uncaptured by other states or even though captured it was rescued, the *Aśwamedha* was performed. The performer of this *Aśwamedha* was thus proved to be the most powerful king in the *Āryan* World and therefore their suzerain. This suzerainty however was then very unstable and passed from state to state. The old form of *Aśwamedha* must have continued being performed in *Brahmāvarta* only and also became converted into *Sapvatsara Yajña* that could be performed by any private individual. (2) Śwetaketu introduced the idea of chastity of women and thus marriage conferred exclusive right of cohabitation. This did not however prohibit re-marriage of widows and allowed *Niyoga* of widowed or unwidowed women for getting sons. The result of this was a change in the law of the *Varṇas*. The child was now held to obtain the *Varṇa* of the procreator, the procreator and the owner being now generally identical except in the case of *Niyoga*, where the child got the *Varṇa* of the owner. The re-marriage of widows, whose marriage was consummated by cohabitation, was stopped from about Kalpa Era 1430, i.e., 1672 B.C.

The law about the automatic change of the *Varṇa* was in full force in this fourth period. Almost all the examples of changes of the *Varṇa* given in the *Purāṇas* belong to this period. The re-distribution of the *Varṇas* was also made by *Sāvarṇa Manu* in Kalpa Era 1424 (1678 B.C.) and by the four *Manus* in Kalpa Era 1772 (1330 B.C.). This re-distribution extended to the people of all *Ārya* States and was not confined to the people of *Brahmāvarta*. This is proved by the fact that four *Manus* of the four quarters were then appointed. The composing of the new Vedic Mantras appears to have been stopped from this *Manwantara* of 1772 Kalpa Era. Through all this long period between Kalpa Era 1000 and 1800 the ideas about the superiority and inferiority of *Varṇas* were becoming more and more rigid. The marriage

of Yayāti with Devayānee and the result of the same shows that they did not then have much influence. But the existence of the Sūta Varṇa towards the end of that period shows that they had then become rigid and fixed. As a consequence marriage laws became changed. A man could marry a woman of the lower Varṇa but not of the higher Varṇa. Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra being the order from the highest to the lowest. Though a woman of the Śūdra Varṇa could be married by a man of the higher Varṇa, her children were regarded as Śūdras (अनुशासनपर्व, Chapter 47). Children of a woman from a man of the lower Varṇa were regarded as outcasts; Sūta, the son of a Brāhmaṇee from a Kshatriyā, though an outcaste had a very honourable position and occupation, *i.e.*, that of learning and reciting the Purāṇas. The children of a man from a woman of his own Varṇa or of any lower Varṇa got the Varṇa of their father if the wife was not of the Śūdra Varṇa. The children of the wives of different Varṇas, however divided their father's property unequally, the sons of a Brāhmaṇee taking four shares each, those of Kshatriyā three shares, those of Vaiśyā two shares and those of a Śūdrā one share at the option of the father.

122. The next period extending from Kalpa Era 1800 to Kalpa Era 2400 was almost similar to the previous period. The only difference between the two periods was that new Mantras had ceased to be composed. But a more valuable thing had taken the place of the composing of new Mantras. The poets of this period took to the higher work of writing Brāhmaṇas including the Upanishads and these works if found to be good were incorporated in the Vedas either by the Saptarshis regularly appointed every fourth year in the Brahmāvarta or by the Saptarshis of the last two Manvantaras. The Upanishads are not works on metaphysics or cosmogony as many have supposed but they are really works on *ethics* written in very poetical language. The ethics of the Upanishads is of the highest order, being based upon Adwaita, *i.e.*, the unity and identity of all Souls (Jeevas). I shall quote a few pieces to prove the excellence of the ethics of the Upanishads:

अथ यत्रैनं प्रतीतिं जिनंतीति हस्तीव विष्ठायाति गर्तमिव पतति यदेव जाग्रद् भयं पश्यति तदत्राविद्यया मन्यते । अथ यत्र देव इव राजेव अहमेवेदं सर्वोस्मीति मन्यते सोऽस्य परमोलोकः ॥ २० ॥

—बृहदारण्यके चतुर्थाध्याये तृतीयब्राह्मणे.

*Translation:—*Now, whatever fear as it were of being killed, fear as it were of being conquered, fear as it were of being broken into pieces by an elephant, fear as it were of falling into a pit, a man sees while awake, he considers that to be a fear on account of ignorance (*i.e.*, ignorance of the fact that he is identical with the other souls). But now when he like a divine being or a king considers “I am all this” that is his highest condition, *i.e.*, a condition of freedom from fear, of highest bliss, and of total absence of sorrow || 20 ||

यदा वै सुखं लभते अथ करोति नासुखं लब्ध्वा करोति सुखं त्वेव विजिज्ञासितव्यमिति सुखं भगवो विजिज्ञास इति ॥ २२ ॥ यो वै भूमा तत्सुखं नाल्पे सुखमस्ति भूमैव सुखं भूमात्वेव विजिज्ञासितव्य इति भूमानं भगवः विजिज्ञास इति ॥ २३ ॥ यत्र नान्यत्पश्यति अन्यच्छृणोति नान्यद्विजानाति स भूमा अथ यत्रान्यत्पश्यति अन्यच्छृणोति अन्यद्विजानाति तदल्पं यो वै भूमा तदमृतम् अथ यदल्पं तन्मर्त्यम् . ॥ २४ ॥ स एवाधस्तात् स उपरिष्ठात् स पश्चात् स पुरस्तात् स दक्षिणतः स उत्तरतः स एवेदं सर्वमिति अथातोऽहंकारादेश एव अहमेवाधस्तात् अहमुपरिष्ठात् अहं पश्चात् अहं पुरस्तात् अहं दक्षिणतोऽहमुत्तरतोऽहमेवेदं सर्वमिति । अथात आत्मादेश एवात्मैवाधस्तात् आत्मा उपरिष्ठात् आत्मा पश्चात् आत्मा पुरस्तात् आत्मा दक्षिणतः आत्मा उत्तरतः आत्मैवेदं सर्वमिति । स वा एवं पश्यन् एवं मन्वानः एवं विजानन् आत्मरतिरात्मक्रीड आत्ममिथुन आत्मानन्दः स खराद् भवति तस्य सर्वेषु लोकेषु कामचारो भवति । अथ येऽन्यथातोविदुः अन्यराजानः ते क्षय्यलोका भवन्ति तेषां सर्वेषु लोकेषु अकामचारो भवति ॥ २५ ॥

—छांदोग्योपनिषदि सप्तमेऽध्याये.

Translation:—“Man does an act if he gets happiness from that act. He does not do any act if he gets pain (नासुखंलब्ध्वा) from it. A man does an act only if he gets happiness from the same. Therefore one should know what is happiness.” This is what the sage Sanatkumāra said. Then Nārada said, “Sir, I desire to know what is happiness” || 22 || Sanatkumāra said, “He who is Great is happiness. There is no happiness in the ‘Small’. The ‘Great’ alone is happiness. Therefore the ‘Great’ alone should be known.” Nārada said, “I desire to know the ‘Great’ ” || 23 || Sanatkumāra said, “When one does not see, hear or know another, *i.e.*, when one though seeing, hearing or knowing another does not think that to be another, that is the ‘Great’. When one sees, hears or knows another, *i.e.*, when one seeing, hearing or knowing another thinks that to be really another, that is the ‘Small’. He who is ‘Great’ is happy (अमृतम्). He who is ‘Small’ is miserable

(मर्त्यं) ॥ 24 ॥ The same thing (स एव) is below, above, in the East, in the West, in the North, and in the South. All this is the same. Now this same statement I shall tell by using the word 'I' (अहम्). I am below, above, in the East, in the West, in the South and in the North. I alone am this all. Now, this same statement I shall tell by using the word 'Self' (आत्मा). The 'Self' is above, below, in the East, in the West, in the South and in the North. The Self alone is all this. He who understands (पश्यन्) this, he who thinks this, he who knows this, he loves himself when he loves others (आत्मरतिः); he plays with himself when he plays with others (आत्मक्रीड); he cohabits with himself when he cohabits with others; he delights when others delight; he rules himself (स्वराट्), when others rule him; i.e., he becomes free. He moves in all societies as he likes, i.e., without any hindrance. But those who know otherwise than this, they are ruled by others; their state of happiness (लोकाः) is unstable (क्षय्य). They cannot move in all societies as they like, i.e., without hindrance ॥ 25 ॥

अथ य आत्मा स सेतुर्विधृतिरेषां लोकानामसंभेदाय ॥ ४ ॥ छांदोग्य, अ. ८.

Translation:—Such a 'Self' is the bridge or a dam that wards off or prevents the destruction of the people or societies.

Such was the high ethics and ideal enjoined by the Upanishads, and followed by the majority of Indian Āryans. It is this great ideal that prevented wars being destructive in India. The warring parties took special care to prevent any harm to the civil population and the conquered people were never treated as conquered but as equals. The Mahābhārata War stands as a great illustration of the application of these principles. It was fought only in a plain quite aside from the civil habitation. I have already quoted in paragraph 46, passages from "Manu-smṛiti" showing that the principles of self-determination and pacification were to be applied to the conquered people. The present warring nations undoubtedly stand in great need of the ideal enjoined by the Upanishads. It is the institution of the Saptarshis that alone must be given credit for this supreme excellence of the Upanishads and their ethics.

123. Unfortunately, towards the end of this period, i.e., between Kalpa Era 1800 and 2400, pernicious propositions began to be advocated probably to oppose reformers like the Buddha. These reformers instead of getting the Vedas and "Manu-smṛiti"

changed through the agency of the institution of the *Manu* and the *Saptarshis*, directly questioned the authority of the *Vedas* and the "*Manusmṛiti*"; and to this a wrong reply began to be advanced that the *Vedas* and the "*Manusmṛiti*" were not made by man, *i.e.*, that they were अपौरुषेय and were thus unchangable absolute authorities. This was going to the opposite extreme. We cannot give any other better explanation of the rise of the *untrue* and *wrong* theory of अपौरुषेयत्व and therefore we have to accept this probable explanation as correct. This अपौरुषेय वाद was a direct attack though unintentional on the institution of the *Manu* and the *Saptarshis* and it was on its account that that institution was forgotten towards the end of this period between *Kalpa Era* 1800 and 2400, *i.e.*, between 1302 B.C. and 702 B.C. The results of this change were very harmful and consequently the picture of the following period is very dismal.

124. Thus in the next period, *i.e.*, that between 2400 to 3600 *Kalpa Era* began the downfall of the *Ārya Society* in India. Transfers of men from one *Varna* to another stopped and that gave rise to castes with separatist tendencies and with fine ideas of their superiority and inferiority. The supervision and check of the *Saptarshis* over the composing of new *Upanishads* stopped, and thereby a series of spurious *Upanishads* came into existence. The series did not stop even in the *Mohamedan period* which produced an *Allopanishad*. The "*Manusmṛiti*" ceased to change with changing circumstances. To make up this defect, irresponsible persons wrote *Smṛitis* which under the garb of the fiction of the interpretation of the *Vedas* actually tried to change the law. In the former periods the objective of *Dharma* was taken to be the continuity of the society and it was held that happiness in this life and in the life after death followed it (see paragraph 71). But in this period this objective changed. Happiness after death was now regarded as the objective of *Dharma* and knowledge of the means of such happiness not being within the knowledge of man, man was asked to rely absolutely for such knowledge upon the *Vedas* which were said to be अपौरुषेय, *i.e.*, not made by man. Thus began a period of downfall caused by the neglect of the happiness before death, for securing hypothetical happiness after death, means of which could be found in the *Vedas* alone. Thus began the reign of interpretation of the *Vedas*, a reign in which independent thinking has virtually been tabooed.

125. One of the effects of this "interpretation theory" was greater restrictions in marriage. The original "Manusmṛiti" did not allow marriages between persons in the same अन्वय, *i.e.*, family, *i.e.*, between Sapindas (सपिंडः), *i.e.*, between persons having a common mess. Now these words अन्वय and सपिंड were interpreted more strictly for it was supposed that the Vedas and Smṛitis being the sole source of the knowledge of Dharma must be construed strictly and never loosely. The strict interpretation of अन्वय gave rise to the prohibition of marriages between persons of the same Gōtra and Pravara; and the strict interpretation of the word सपिंड gave rise to the prohibition between persons within seven degrees of descent from a common ancestor.

The words describing the effect of the seventh step in the marriage ceremony were also strictly construed towards the end of the period. These words are:

पाणिग्रहणिका मंत्रा नियतं दारलक्षणं ।

तेषां निष्ठा तु विज्ञेया विद्वद्भिः सप्तमे पदे ॥ २२० ॥

—मनुस्मृति, अ. ७.

These words really mean that so long as the husband is living, is capable of consummating the marriage by cohabitation and is willing to do so, no other person can marry the woman again. These words do not mean that the marriage is irrevocable even though he dies or leaves the world or is incapable of consummating the marriage by cohabitation. But now the words were strictly construed and the seventh step was held to make the marriage absolutely irrevocable, so that even child widows could not re-marry though Vasishṭha and Śātātapa (Laghu) expressly allow them to re-marry.

In this period of overstrictness, the Niyoga also fell into disuse. Thus the prohibition of re-marriage and Niyoga made the life of women in this period very miserable.

126. Gentlemen, I have almost finished. It is not in my province to draw the picture of the last period that is continuing upto this day. Nor have I the courage to draw such a dismal picture. I only want to say a few words in conclusion. I do not say I am right in every respect. Further research may reveal some of my mistakes. I have only proposed a new method and applied it to the extent made possible by the time and energy available to me. Though the method is correct, the application

may be wrong. I have tried my best to avoid mistakes. But I may have made mistakes, it being human to err. I therefore request intelligent students to complete my study and to correct me wherever necessary. For the present let us suppose that my results are correct. I may here point out that the correctness of my conclusions is confirmed by almost the same conclusions given by the author of the "Harivaṃśa" in the following passage:

सप्तैते सप्तभिश्चैव गुणैः सप्तर्षयः स्मृताः ।
 दीर्घायुषो मंत्रकृत् ईश्वरा दीर्घचक्षुषः ॥ ५३ ॥
 बुद्ध्या प्रत्यक्षधर्माणो गोत्रप्रावर्तकास्तथा ।
 कृतादिषु युगाख्येषु सर्वेष्वेव पुनः पुनः ॥ ५४ ॥
 प्रावर्तयन्ति ते वर्णानाश्रमांश्चैव सर्वशः ।
 सप्तर्षयो महाभागाः सत्यधर्मपरायणाः ॥ ५५ ॥
 तेषां चैवान्वयोत्पन्नाः जायन्तीह पुनः पुनः ।
 मंत्रब्राह्मणकर्तारो धर्मे प्रशिथिले तथा ॥ ५६ ॥

Translation:—The seven Saptarshis are called Saptarshis on account of the following seven qualities that they have got. They are: (1) Men of long life, *i.e.*, of mature old age when appointed as Saptarshis. (2) They are creators of the Mantras, *i.e.*, the Vedas. (3) They have got authority over the society (ईश्वराः). (4) They are long sighted, *i.e.*, prudent. (5) They directly see the Dharma by their intelligence. (6) They are originators of the Gotras. (7) They constitute all the Varnas and Āśramas again and again in the Yugas named Kṛita, etc. The Saptarshis are great men (महाभागाः) and are devoted to Dharma based upon truth. They came into existence again and again in the series (अन्वय) of Saptarshis (तेषाम्). They create Mantras and Brāhmaṇās when Dharma becomes loose (प्रशिथिल), *i.e.*, when old Dharma becomes inapplicable to the new times.

Now, in conclusion, let us see if we can take any lesson from the study in the previous lectures. The institutions we have studied being certainly those of an adult society and not those of an infant society, we can take a lesson from them. I go further and say that we must take some lessons from that study.

That the institution of Manu and Saptarshis, governed the life of the ancient Āryas and kept them in the right path to happiness is very clear. We must revive that institution in the form suitable to these times. Even in these days of slavery to the

British Nation, we can claim that to be the Hindu Law which will be declared by such an institution appointed by our society. That will bring back life and vigour to our society which is now almost dead or disintegrating.

It is also very clear that लोकसंतान, *i.e.*, continuity of the society was taken as the objective of Dharma by the Manu and Saptarshis of ancient times. Let the Manus and Saptarshis that we shall now appoint do the same. Let us also regard this as the objective of Dharma. We have suffered too much by neglecting this objective, and by taking the imaginary happiness of the life after death as the objective of Dharma. That is the sole cause of our downfall in every respect. Let us therefore discard it.

The revival of the other institutions should be left to the careful, thorough and mature consideration of the Manus and the Saptarshis that we shall appoint. They should if they think it right revive the institution of the Varṇas and Varṇāntara, *i.e.*, the transfer of a man in one Varṇa to another.

I have no doubt that they should prohibit the present Saṃnyāsa Āśrama of absolute inactivity and compel all men to do social duties.

Let nobody misunderstand my words "continuity of the society". I don't mean continuity of the Hindu Society only. No particular society can continue or attain good at the cost of other societies. The Manu and the Saptarshis, *i.e.*, the governing body of the Hindu Society must therefore govern the Hindu Society in such a way that it will help the continuity and good of the other societies as well. The Manus and the Saptarshis that we shall appoint must stick to the principles of Advaita inculcated by the Upanishads promulgated by Saptarshis of old—the principle that alone can bring peace and happiness to the warring world.

